The Outlook

Vol. 67 April 13, 1901 No. 15

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The Outlook

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Count Cassini's Note The principal event of last week respecting the Chinese imbroglio was Russia's withdrawal of what had been regarded by many as an ultimatum to China, and her agreement to acknowledge the rights of the Powers in determining the whole Chinese question. Russia's representatives have maintained all along that nothing in the proposed treaty could properly be construed as giving to that country a permanent foothold in China; that the agreement provided merely for the temporary occupation of the province of Manchuria by Russian troops; and that as soon as the trans-Siberian railway should be built and guarded, and as soon as law and order should be established throughout the province, the Russian forces would be withdrawn. Two significant facts were noted by those who did not believe these assurances: (1) Russia carefully abstained from publishing the text of the proposed treaty with China; (2) all of the protests made to the Powers were verbal. The event of last week, therefore, is noteworthy from the fact that in his note to Mr. Hay, Secretary of State, Count Cassini, Russian Ambassador at Washington, gave out the first bit of writing emanating from a Russian official on the subject. The promise, however, that the Russian troops will be withdrawn as soon as law and order have been established may be taken with considerable doubt. England went into Egypt under similar conditions twenty years ago, and she is still there. It may be that order will never be sufficiently restored in Egypt to permit England's relinquishment of control there; it is probable that Manchurian civilization will never reach such a pitch as to permit Russia's departure from a province which she has long coveted. She has nine points of the law at the present time, treaty or no treaty, as, with her three hundred thousand soldiers in Manchuria, her railways, her docks, her mining, agricultural, and commercial privileges, she is already in practical possession.

❀

Japan's Warlike Attitude Last week the crisis in Japan's foreign affairs continued. The Japanese realize better than we do or can what Russian proceedings in China and Korea really mean. Nor was a belligerent spirit lessened through the explanation by Count von Bülow, the German Chancellor, of the Anglo-German agreement—namely, that it did not include Manchuria. All the tact of the Japanese Government is required to avoid precipitating a war with Russia. The verbal reply of that Power last week to Japan's protest against the Manchurian Convention was to the effect that the proposed agreement was purely temporary and not intended to impair the sovereignty of China or to injure the interests of other Powers; that the contents of the agreement, immediately upon its conclusion, would have been communicated to the other Powers, who would undoubtedly have found them acceptable; and, finally, that, if any of the provisions were not acceptable to Japan, Russia would have discussed the matter in a friendly spirit. This, together with the representations of Count Cassini in this country, has had some slight effect, though the Japanese papers as well as their allies in the British press declare that if Russia fails to keep her promise now given as to the integrity of China, and proceeds to assume in Manchuria the authority denied her by formal stipulation, she will have to confront, not only the protest, but the armed might, of the energetic nation which, under the rule of the Mikado, is conscious of its strength to aid the

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greatness of its destinies. The London "Standard," which throughout has taken a characteristically moderate stand, says that Japan will have the sympathy and support of nearly all the Powers interested in the Far East. The London "Chronicle" makes similar comments, adding that, of the Powers which really count, Japan is the only one which is at all likely to back her protest with force. That this is true may be seen from the speeches last week of two foremost Japanese statesmen. Count Okuma, formerly Premier and now leader of the Opposition, declares that Japan must assert herself or the work of thirty years will be lost. Korea, he says, is not a Russian chattel, and Russia's unwarranted action in that country "is a direct challenge to Japan." Prince Konouye, President of the House of Peers of the Japanese Diet (or Parliament), openly discussed the probable results of a war between Japan and Russia, and said that Japan could count upon the friendly neutrality of Great Britain and Germany. He declared that the United States would not interfere, and that France would only cause uneasiness by the employment of her Annamese forces and by a naval demonstration off Formosa. This, he predicted, would be the limit of French action, and therefore Japan's superior army would be enabled without great difficulty to drive Russia out of Manchuria.

❀

The Mongolian Rebellion A rebellion has now broken out in Mongolia and in the adjacent province of Shansi to the south, having as its immediate instigators Prince Tuan and General Tung. In the ultimate analysis, however, it will probably be found to have been inspired by Russia, seeking to repeat her Manchurian history in Mongolia, and then in Chinese Turkestan. Another rebellion would give to Russian ambition the opportunity it seeks, now that in purely diplomatic arrangements it is checked by the action of the United States, followed by Great Britain, Germany, and especially by Japan. In case the reported rebellion of the eleven thousand troops under General Tung threatens the Chinese Court itself, making the use of the allied troops necessary for protection, the event might prove unfortunate for Chinese interests in general and those of the Empress Dowager in particular.

❀

Dr. Smith's Article Dr. Smith's article in this week's Outlook on "China Six Months After the Occupation of Peking" throws light on the Chinese problem chiefly because it shows how difficult and complicated the problem is. The article appears to us, however, to confirm the wisdom of the American policy which is criticised. Dreadful as the alternative is, there appear from Dr. Smith's article to be only two courses open: one a continuance of a despotic, divided, and irresponsible military power, with, as a result, "the committing within the shortest time as many violations as possible of the sixth, the seventh, and the eighth Commandments;" the other, the withdrawal of all the allied forces except such as are necessary to protect foreign representatives, with, as a probable result, the recurrence of the plunder and massacre of the native Christians. Under these circumstances we prefer the second course, for the simple reason that interference to prevent even a gross injustice is never right if it can be accomplished only at the cost of an injustice equally great. And there appears to be no way by which the Chinese Christians can be protected from the Boxers without subjecting the Chinese of all descriptions to equal cruelty from the protecting armies.

❀

The Triple Alliance Recent changes in the relations between France and Italy have indicated to some observers a possible detachment of the latter Power from its alliance with Germany and Austria. The first of these events was last year's trade treaty, by which some principal causes of unrest and ill feeling between France and Italy were removed. Always naturally large and profitable, commerce between these two countries is now established on a firmer and more mutually advantageous basis than before. The second sign of a possible detachment of Italy from the Triple Alliance lies in the fact that France herself is not so eager as she was about her own alliance with Russia. France realizes now what the rest of the world has long seen, that she

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has become only Russia's echo in any concert of the Powers, despite her repeated loans to Russia of large sums with which to carry out ambitious political and commercial projects having no reference to any one's gain but the Slav's. It would seem, then, that, for the past year, France has inclined towards another political courtship, that of Italy, with a proportionate cooling off in ardor for the Russian alliance. The question arises, Will Italy be so sensible of her new position, commercially and politically, as to return to a historic friendship which in times past has been of great advantage to her, most notably, of course, in 1859–60, when Louis Napoleon made the achievement of Italian unity possible? At all events, there can be no question of an actual lapse of the ties between Italy on the one hand and Germany and Austria on the other until 1903, the date when the present Triple Alliance will expire, to be renewed or to be annulled as the signatory Powers may decide. It is suggested that, instead of forming a French alliance, Italy may have the courage to choose a middle course—that she may abstain from contracting any alliance at all, thus regaining her full liberty of action and observing towards all nations the policy of equal friendship. As has been often pointed out, the word "alliance" implies more or less interdependence; and, though circumstances sometimes render alliances necessary, they do not always completely fulfill the idea of patriots and humanitarians.

❀

Progress in the Philippines

A manifesto or statement to the Filipino people from the pen of Aguinaldo is daily expected. The captured chief, after being brought to Manila and after consultation with Chief Justice Arellano, last week took the oath of allegiance to the United States Government. Chief Justice Arellano in person administered the oath and explained to Aguinaldo the propositions which had been made and were to be made for education and for municipal and provincial self-government under the present commission. The cable reports assert that, after listening to this exposition by Señor Arellano, Aguinaldo exclaimed: "I never believed the Americans would be so fair and liberal!" Señor Arellano is reported as saying that the forthcoming manifesto from Aguinaldo will induce the insurgents to surrender, and he predicts that the islands will be completely pacified by June. Rumors that Aguinaldo had been invited to visit this country by President McKinley are entirely without foundation. Personally Aguinaldo has been treated with great consideration since he was captured. News continues to be received of the surrender of small bodies of insurgents and of a considerable number of arms—the surrender of arms, in point of fact, is considered of more importance than the surrender of insurgents themselves. The rather sensational despatches of a week ago about frauds in the Commissary Department in Manila are said by the Washington authorities to be much exaggerated. No officer of the regular army is involved, and there is at least some question as to the guilt of the volunteer officers who have been implicated. It seems that company commanders have been authorized to sell surplus supplies not needed, and to invest the money in comforts and extra supplies for the men. It is in reference to this as well as to surplus supplies that the charges have been made. The Department at Washington has ordered a thorough investigation, and until this takes place it is impossible to judge intelligently of the extent and character of the charges.

❀

A Bad Appointment

We have waited since the appointment of Mr. Rodenburg as Civil Service Commissioner in hope that either some effective defense of the appointment would be made or that the appointment would be withdrawn. The hope has proved vain. Mr. Rodenburg's principal connection with the Civil Service Commission was his vote on the 17th of February, 1900, to strike out from the Appropriation Bill the appropriations necessary to maintain the Civil Service Commission, and thus indirectly repeal the Civil Service Act. We have seen nothing to indicate that Mr. Rodenburg voted for striking out these appropriations for any other reason than his desire to overthrow the Civil Service Act, or that he has changed his mind since that vote was recorded. We must, therefore, regard his appointment as

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distinct notice to the country by the President that the President does not believe in the Civil Service Act, that he does not desire to see it enforced, that he approves of legislation the object of which is to impair if not destroy its efficiency. When Mayor Van Wyck indirectly appoints Mr. Devery Deputy Chief of the police, the city rightly assumes that Mr. Van Wyck does not desire to reform the blackmailing methods which were carried on under Mr. Devery when he was Chief of Police. If Mr. Bryan had been elected President of the United States and had appointed Erving Winslow or Edward Atkinson Governor of the Philippines, the country would have rightfully assumed that it was his desire to separate the Philippines from the United States at the earliest possible moment. When the President appoints to the Civil Service Commission a man whose only official act, so far as known, in respect to that Commission is an attempt to destroy its efficiency, the country has a right to assume that the President means to do what he can by executive action to make the Act inefficient; and, unhappily, this conclusion is confirmed by other acts of the Administration. The President's appointments of prominent officials of a National character, such as the Peace Commissioners at Paris, the Governor of Porto Rico and of Hawaii, and the Government's Commissioners to the Philippines, are worthy of all praise; but in most if not all of his ordinary appointments he seems to act upon the principle that the appointing power should be exercised by the Senators and Representatives in their various States and districts, and to depend in no small measure on the patronage which this method provides for securing influence in Congress. This method is as inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution as it is with the best administration of the civil service, and we believe it is also inconsistent with the growing, though it must be confessed somewhat apathetic, spirit of the American people. The interests of the Nation and the interests of the Republican party will be promoted if some adviser who has the ear of the President and influence with him could persuade him in this respect to pay a little more regard to the silent sentiments of the people and a little less to the clamor of the politicians.

The Direct Primary in Minnesota

A notable victory for the direct primary system has just been gained in Minnesota. Two years ago the Legislature of that State passed a bill permitting the county of Hennepin, which comprises little more than the city of Minneapolis, to use a system of direct primary voting for the nomination of all candidates for offices voted for within the county. The success of the trial of this plan was phenomenal, surpassing the expectations of the advocates of the reform. When it was seen that a larger percentage of the voters participated in the primaries in Hennepin County than was usually counted at the polls, a demand at once went up from the rest of the State for an extension of the law. This demand was most insistent in St. Paul and Duluth, the two remaining large cities of the State, but the legislators from the country districts soon became aware that their constituents also were anxious to be relieved from the control of the boss and slate-maker by securing for themselves the benefits of the Hennepin primary law; so that the scheme of some of the Minneapolis politicians to have the law repealed met with so little encouragement when the Legislature met this winter that it never saw the light. Several primary bills were at once introduced by members of both parties, and a measure extending the system to the whole State passed the House of Representatives with little opposition. In the Senate the bill did not have such plain sailing, for a determined fight was made against it by a few members friendly to the machine. Attempts were made to amend the bill to death; but while the debate was going on, several of the lukewarm Senators heard from home in so emphatic a manner that when the final vote was taken in the Senate only twelve Senators out of sixty-three went on record as opposed to the bill. The law covers nominations for Congressional, legislative, county, and city offices, and district judgeships; it does not apply to State offices nor to local offices of villages and towns. The exception of State offices was conceded as a compromise to carry the measure through in the House. In towns and villages where all the voters know each other, the evils of machine nominations have not had a chance to develop. The

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main provisions of the new law are summarized as follows:

Any person who wishes to become a candidate for the nomination to any office may do so by filing an affidavit with the county auditor and paying a fee of ten dollars, or, if the office is to be voted for in more than one county, by filing his affidavit with the Secretary of State and paying a fee of twenty dollars. No person defeated at the primary election can go on the official ballot at the final election. The primary election will be held on the seventh Tuesday before election, which is also to be the first day of registration, and any person entitled to register may vote. Australian ballots are to be provided for each party participating in the election, and each voter must declare his party affiliation before receiving a ballot. If challenged, the voter must make affidavit relative to his party preferences.

This most important reform has been brought about, not by strenuous agitation, but rather by the logic of events and by the powerful influence of a highly successful experiment which refuted every objection that could be urged against it.

❀

The Ohio Elections The municipal elections last week turned in an extraordinary degree upon the public ownership of municipal franchises. Particularly was this the case in Ohio, where the successful candidates for Mayor in the three important cities which elected Mayors were all champions of the public ownership principle. In Toledo, however, where Mayor Jones was elected to a third term, the personality of the candidate probably had more to do with the result than the platform on which he stood. The result in that city is nevertheless remarkable, because Mayor Jones not only champions the public ownership of natural monopolies, but ultimately the public ownership of all forms of capital. This year Mayor Jones was again nominated by petition as an Independent, but the Democrats indorsed him, and there was danger that party lines might be sharply drawn before the close of the campaign. Had they been sharply drawn, Mayor Jones would have been defeated. His majority of two thousand, however, showed that there were many more Republicans in sympathy with his radicalism than there were Democrats opposed to it. In Columbus the Democratic candidate for Mayor was helped by the scandals under the recent Republican administration, and also by the relative tardiness of the Republican candidate in indorsing the three-cent fare and public ownership programme, for which both the candidates finally stood. In Cleveland the Democratic candidate was ex-Congressman Tom L. Johnson, the street railway millionaire, who has become famous by his advocacy of the single tax and the public ownership of street railway franchises. His single-tax views formed no part of the platform on which he made his campaign, but his low fare and public ownership views were the very heart of it. Though not a free-silver man, Mr. Johnson cordially supported Mr. Bryan in 1896 because of his sympathy with the spirit of the Chicago platform, and in the present municipal campaign he seems to have been bitterly opposed by Mayor Farley and other leading Gold Democrats. His remarkable majority of nearly six thousand has suggested to many the observation that, while a poor man can usually poll the largest vote for a platform supported by the rich, a rich man can poll the largest vote for a platform supported by the poor.

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The Chicago Election In Chicago Mayor Harrison was elected for a third term by a plurality of nearly thirty thousand. Party lines were not at all closely drawn—many Republicans refusing to support Judge Hanecy because of the backing he received from the street railway interests, and many Democrats refusing to support Mayor Harrison because of the backing he received from the anti-Bryan elements in the local Democratic organization. The protesting Democrats belonged to the radical element which supported ex-Governor Altgeld for Mayor two years ago. This year their leader asked them to vote directly for the Republican nominee, but only a fraction of those who had voted for him were willing to follow his advice to vote for a Republican—and particularly a Republican identified with the traction company's interests. Mr. Bryan himself refused to support the secession, and in his newspaper advocated Mayor Harrison's re-election. Toward the close of the campaign Judge Hanecy announced his allegiance to the street railway policy which Mayor Harrison

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had pursued, but the announcement came too late to win back the independent voters who were supporting the Mayor because of this feature of his programme. The total vote polled at the election was relatively small, because a large number of the disaffected voters in both parties remained away from the polls. Mayor Harrison's indorsement, therefore, was more qualified than the size of his plurality might seem to indicate. The result of the election which furnishes the greatest occasion for congratulation is the renewed success of the non-partisan Municipal Voters' League in securing the return of a trustworthy Board of Aldermen. Of the twenty-nine aldermanic candidates whom the League indorsed, nearly two-thirds were elected, while of the fourteen whom it condemned as likely to support franchise-grabbing interests, less than half seem to have been elected. That Chicago should thus be protected against "boodle" legislation by the public-spirited action of a majority of the people in a majority of the wards means infinitely more for municipal progress than if the same result had been secured through any limitation upon popular sovereignty.

❀

The St. Louis and Kansas City Elections

In St. Louis National issues affected the contest more than in any other of the cities named, but even here the municipal issue which pressed its way to the front was again that of municipal ownership. The National significance of the election came from the fact that the Democratic organization in St. Louis named for Mayor a prominent business man who had refused to support either the Chicago or the Kansas City platform. Mr. Bryan's paper promptly condemned the nomination, on the ground that, whatever the candidate's qualifications for election as an independent, he was not entitled to election as a Democrat. In St. Louis ex-Commissioner of Labor Lee Meriwether was nominated by Mr. Bryan's supporters as an independent on a public ownership platform, and at once entered upon a campaign marked by exceptional enthusiasm. Republican business men soon came to take a greater interest in this contest within the Democratic party than in the contest of their own party against the Democrats, and as a result a large number of Republican votes were polled for the regular Democratic candidate. The outcome was that in a city which in November gave about 60,000 votes to each of the great parties, the Republican candidate for Mayor received but 35,000 votes, while the regular Democratic candidate received 43,000, and the public ownership candidate received 28,000. In the smaller cities where elections were held the issue of public ownership naturally awakened less interest, but in one of the smaller cities, Kansas City, Kansas, it awakened greater popular concern than anywhere else. In this city the Council was undertaking to grant a thirty years' renewal to the street railway franchises which had still five years to run, and the Democratic candidate for Mayor, who opposed the grant, not only overcame the regular Republican majority of from 3,000 to 5,000, but was elected by a majority of 1,300. On the night of the election, before the returns were in, the old Council met and tried to pass the franchise extension bills, but the public had been warned by handbills, and five hundred armed men, led by the President of the Mercantile Club, stormed the meeting and compelled the Council to adjourn without taking action. That a mob of this sort should be assembled to protect public property shows the pressing need of legislation referring franchise grants on petition to the approval of the public; but the fact that the mob could be assembled shows that the day has passed when the American people were indifferent to the value of their public franchises.

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New York's Amended Charter

The Charter Revision Bill, which passed both branches of the New York Legislature last week, makes the following important changes in the municipal constitution of New York City: 1. A Legislature with one chamber instead of two. 2. Mayor and Borough Presidents elected for two years instead of four. 3. Borough Presidents made executive officers with power instead of mere figureheads. 4. Single-headed commissions substituted for bi-partisan boards. The fourth of these provisions receives almost universal favor. Bi-partisan boards, except for such work as that of election commissioners, are

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usually twice as partisan as partisan boards, for the reason that the appointees represent only their party, and the division of responsibility creates irresponsibility. This last danger also affects all large boards, for purely executive objects. Where deliberation is needed large boards are needed, but where execution is needed the definite responsibility of each officer for his particular work is essential. The increase in the power of Borough Presidents is also well advised. The first Charter made the suburban boroughs too dependent upon the administrative officers of the central government. The change here is along the lines of decentralization and home rule. The giving to the Borough Presidents of a seat upon the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which has virtual charge of the city's finances, restores a democratic element to the composition of that body. The Borough Presidents are elected by the people, who are thus indirectly enabled to control the budget—which in all democratic constitutions is under the exclusive control of the legislature. The shortening of the terms of the Mayor and Borough Presidents from four years to two will require public officers more frequently to submit their work to the judgment of the public, while it still allows them a sufficient time to show what their policies are. The best students of the municipal problem are divided in opinion as to the wisdom of this change. The substitution of a single-chambered legislature for a double-chambered one is to be regarded as the introduction into the city of the system universally used in the government of private corporations—no one of which would think of embarrassing action with two boards of directors. It appears to us quite clear that the reasons for two chambers in the State and the Nation do not apply in a municipality, where the legislature is rather a business than a political body. The number of members in the new Board of Aldermen is fixed by the Legislature at seventy-three instead of a hundred and twenty-three, as was proposed by the Revision Commissioners. The new Board is, therefore, almost exactly the same size as the Board of Aldermen in Chicago; and although in New York each aldermanic district will contain ten thousand families, Chicago's recent experience indicates that by hard work the independents can be organized in nearly all of the districts, so that the party machines may be compelled to present candidates acceptable to the rank and file of the voters. That the new plan of government does not insure good government without persistent agitation in every quarter of the great city is by no means a defect. Without such agitation no permanent progress can be made.

❀

Count Tolstoï's Excommunication

Last week, at St. Petersburg, the official organ of the Holy Synod of the Greco-Russian Church published the text of the formal excommunication of Count Tolstoï. Early in the year it was announced that the great novelist and social reformer would be excommunicated. This announcement was a result of the secret circular last September addressed by the Metropolitan of Kiev to all the Russian archbishops. The circular recited that Count Tolstoï was an avowed enemy of the Church, and that, unless he should repent, the Holy Synod would prohibit the celebration of all divine services in the event of his death. Count Tolstoï did not recant, and the Holy Synod has now put forth its statement to "the Faithful Children of the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church." The statement declares Count Tolstoï to be a false teacher, who "with the zeal of a fanatic preaches the destruction of all dogmas of the Orthodox Church and the real essence of Christian faith. He rejects the living personal God. . . . He denies the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . He denies the Immaculate Conception, the Incarnation of Christ the Lord, and the virginity of the Holy Mother of God before and after his birth. He does not believe in a life or retribution after death. He rejects all sacraments of the Church and the blessed activity of the Holy Spirit in them. Thus, to the grief and horror of the whole orthodox world, Count Leo Tolstoï has, by speech and writing, unceasingly striven to separate himself from all communion of the Orthodox Church, and this not only clandestinely, but openly and with the knowledge of all persons. All attempts to dissuade him from this conduct have proved without avail, consequently the Orthodox Church no longer considers him to be one of its members."

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Thirty years ago, when Russia awoke to the name and fame of her greatest writer, his admirers everywhere did not foresee an act of accusation against him which should not contain one word of admiration for his literary talent or for his great heart. Feeling the insatiable need of social perfection, Count Tolstoï has preached no other morality than that of altruism and pity. The Holy Synod of the Greco-Russian Church has had little to fear from social teachings too impersonal ever to collect a multitude of believers away from the Church. So far from diminishing Count Tolstoï's fame, the excommunication will only add to it. It has been rumored that the Russian Government will further add to the writer's fame by banishing him from the country, but these rumors have not been confirmed. It seems certain, however, that, in addition to expounding doctrines at variance with those of the State Church, he has been actively assisting the student movement in Moscow, and as a result a thousand students in that University and at Kiev have petitioned to be excommunicated with him.

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Countess Tolstoï's Protest

Countess Tolstoï has now addressed a long protest to M. Pobiedonostev, Procurator of the Holy Synod. She says that her indignation and grief are aroused, not because her husband's spiritual death is in any way entailed by the excommunication. "From the religious standpoint the life of the soul remains an impenetrable mystery for each of us, and that life, thank Heaven! is dependent on no earthly power. But when I see this excommunication pronounced by the Church to which I belong and shall never cease to belong, which Christ has established in order that in God's name it should consecrate all the most solemn acts of a man's life—birth, marriage, death—whose mission it is to proclaim the law of charity, the law of pardon, the love of our enemies and of those who hate us, and whose prayers are due to all, I am at a loss what to think. . . . Excommunication will excite not the adhesion but the wrath of men, and will earn for Leo Tolstoï increased love and sympathy." Count Tolstoï is already receiving the expression of these sentiments from all parts of the world. But Countess Tolstoï is not satisfied with protesting against the excommunication only; she also protests against the secret order of last September by which, in the event of Count Tolstoï's death, the Holy Synod forbids priests to bury him in church. "Against whom is this blow directed?" asks the Countess. "The dead, the insensible remains of the man, or his kindred, the believers surrounding him? . . . Is it really believed that I shall not find a priest to celebrate my husband's funeral service and pray for him in church?—a good priest, who, in the presence of the true God of love, disregards the commands of men, or a bad priest, whom an offer of money would place at my disposal?" But this is not necessary, declares the courageous woman. "For me the Church is an abstraction, and I do not acknowledge other ministers than those who comprehend what it really is. Were it necessary to believe that the Church is merely a congregation of men who, out of malice, do not hesitate to violate Christ's highest command, the law of love, we should long ago have left it, all of us who are faithful to it and observe its laws." Even though there were some ground for discipline in this case, the real renegades, as Countess Tolstoï adds, are not those who go astray in search of truth, but those who, often placed at the head of the Church, act as spiritual hangmen.

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The John Robinson Memorial Church

The title "Father of Independency" has been justly applied to John Robinson, a man whose largeness of heart, clarity of judgment, sweetness of spirit, and depth of piety would have distinguished him above his fellows in any event, even if he had not been suspended by his bishop for nonconformity in ecclesiastical ceremonies, if he had not gathered an independent congregation together, separating himself from the Church of England, and if he had not suffered persecution which led many of his congregation to emigrate with him to Holland. He is best known in this country as having been one of the principal promoters of colonization in New England, to which distant land he dismissed a portion of his congregation with a notable sermon in

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1620. Some years ago it was proposed to build a memorial church to him at Gainsborough, near his birthplace in Lincolnshire, England. Gainsborough itself is famous because there Robinson gathered a congregation of Dissenters, to whom he preached before going to Scrooby and thence to Holland. After a vote of the Congregational Union commending the proposal to the Congregational churches generally, the church was erected. Though there is a tablet in Leyden commemorating Robinson's residence and death (1625) there, this is the only memorial of the great Nonconformist in England. When it was first proposed to build the church, it was thought that the descendants of the Puritans in the United States would gladly assist in the movement; and at the meeting of the Congregational Triennial Council in Minneapolis nine years ago over a thousand dollars was subscribed, and since that time the sum has been augmented to about twenty-five hundred dollars. Further aid is requested in order to clear off the debt of the church, which now stands at about five thousand dollars.

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Church Federation Abroad The seventh annual report of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in England exhibits an advance of the federation movement both in numbers and efficiency. During the past year eighty-seven new councils were formed; in the preceding year there were forty-four. The total number of these local organizations is now about seven hundred. Three new district or, as we might term them, county federations have been organized. The metropolitan, or London, federation includes sixty local councils. Dr. Joseph Parker is to succeed the Rev. F. B. Meyer as its President. The details into which the report enters show that the interdenominational co-operation in practical lines of common interest for which the Free Churches have confederated is carried on with vigor. The inculcation of the history and principles of these churches by lectures and otherwise, leagues for benevolent work, the concentration of public opinion against the advance of the High Church or, as it is regarded, Romanizing party, and revival work by "missioners," are the things mainly undertaken. Half of the report is devoted to an account of the "Simultaneous Mission," which we reported last week. The federation movement is said to be making rapid progress in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In Germany also there has been a beginning in Berlin, where there are from five to six thousand adherents of the Free Churches. These have recently formed a council, in correspondence with their English brethren. The federation movement in the United States differs from its English prototype in its greater comprehensiveness, happily ignoring all the restrictive lines implied by the designation "evangelical." Correspondence is now going on between leaders on both sides of the sea concerning the feasibility and the advantages of a world-wide federation, to work for good government, international peace, and co-operation in missions.

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The Amity Conference The Annual Conference on Missions held by the Amity Baptist Church in this city gives desirable prominence to the truth, not yet fully recognized, that every church is, at least in its constitutional idea, a missionary society. The eleventh of these conferences, held during the first three days of this month, was noteworthy for its broad conception of missionary interests. The city's young criminals and the treatment of juvenile delinquents received equal attention with the trans-oceanic field of duty. It is unusual for such subjects as "The Application of the Christian Law of Service to Labor and Capital" and "The Religious Element in Economic Movements" to be presented in a missionary conference. It will be admitted, however, that the usefulness of a missionary among the toiling multitudes is augmented by an enlightened understanding of just such subjects. Another subject greatly needing emphasis was "The Obligation of Suburban Towns to City Missions." The rural villa does not adequately discharge its debt to the city that supplies its income. A peculiar feature of these conferences is the fellowship meeting at the supper-table between the afternoon and evening sessions. The Biblical basis and inspiration of the whole

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are conspicuous in the "Scripture Exposition" with which each session begins.

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Pigeon-Shooting Last week, at Queens, L. I., about twenty thousand pigeons were slaughtered in the "Grand American Handicap." Thus nearly twenty thousand separate acts of cruelty were perpetrated, because, first, few birds escape being shot, and, second, of those hit the majority are not killed outright, but linger in agony for hours and even days before death ends their tortures. The birds were exposed in boxes at a distance of only ninety feet from the marksman, who had his gun already raised before the pigeon was let loose. The bird was, of course, dazed, and rarely had a chance for its life. Gun clubs in the New England and some other States are compelled to use clay pigeons, thrown from spring traps and made to fly in the eccentric curves of the live bird. A smaller surface is thus presented to the marksman, who finds these targets harder to hit than are the pigeons themselves. Live-bird shooting, its advocates claim, has additional zest because many a pigeon, hit by the shooter, receives so small a part of the charge that it can still struggle out of bounds; this causes the marksman to lose a point, which he would have scored had a clay bird been used, such a bird, if hit at all, dropping inertly to the ground! These advocates also coolly claim that it is no more cruel to shoot pigeons for sport than it is to wring their necks for the market. This argument is disproven by the fact that (1) most of the birds killed at tournaments are riddled with shot, and eating them is out of the question; (2) and that the great majority of birds are only wounded by the gunners. We are accustomed to despise Spain because of her cock-fights and bull-fights, but here is a "sport" even lower in the scale. As the New York State law imposes upon gun clubs the duty of killing all maimed birds falling upon the club's grounds, we are glad to add that the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals stopped the shooting repeatedly until the "cripples" within the grounds had been despatched; of course it was impossible to terminate the existence of the great number of wounded pigeons which flew outside the grounds, hiding themselves under whatever cover they could find, and there slowly bleeding out their lives. We do not understand why a law remains unrepealed which legalizes shooting at live pigeons within the grounds of an incorporated gun club. Here is a chance for some legislator to introduce a measure, not only to protect the poor birds themselves, but still more to raise the *morale* of so-called "sportsmen."

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Damming the Nile The Nile alone has saved Egypt from becoming a part of the Desert of Sahara. Every year there has been a high Nile and a low Nile, and the fertility of the fields along the river when unattacked by drought or flood has been famous. In most years, however, there have been floods and famines. Henceforth these will be a thing of the past, for, by a work worthy of the Roman Empire, the British have now eliminated these dangers. The contract for the first Nile dam, that at Assuan, was let by the Khedive-in-Council three years ago, and the channels have just been closed. Assuan marks the Nubian frontier, and the river is a mile and a quarter wide at that point. Resting on granite reefs, the dam is pierced by a hundred and eighty openings, each seven feet wide, twenty-three feet high, and controlled by steel sluices. At high Nile the discharge through these may attain fifteen thousand tons of water per second. The top of the dam is broad enough for a double line of railway tracks, and these have now been made. The Nile will ultimately be raised sixty feet above its usual level; the river on the southern side of the frontier will practically become a lake nearly a hundred and fifty miles long, in which a billion tons of water will be stored. Three hundred miles further down stream, and due north, lies Assiut, where another dam is being built, subsidiary and regulatory to the first, and specially intended to raise the Nile level during the summer for the benefit of Middle Egypt. Both dams are, of course, provided with navigation locks. The total work so far represents the labor of fifteen thousand fellahîn or natives, and a number of Italian workmen. The sum of ten million dollars has already been spent on the dams. The result to Egypt is at least a doubling of the productivity of five million acres now devoted to cotton, corn, rice,

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and sugar. Egyptians will not only have enough and to spare for themselves, but they will become formidable competitors in the world's market. The Outlook has already called attention to the lessening of taxation and to other benefits of English rule in Egypt. The policy of the ancient Egyptian kings was to immortalize themselves; the policy of modern English administrators is to help the country.

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Sixto Lopez on the Philippine Question

In our judgment, the capture of Aguinaldo and his acceptance of the situation by taking the oath of allegiance, impliedly pledging his influence in favor of peace, brings the war in the Philippines practically to a close. There will doubtless continue to be disorders, and in some of the provinces are guerrilla bands hardly distinguishable from brigands; but the sentiment of the people will be hostile to them, and they will have to be dealt with as are other brigand bands in more settled countries. If there should be dishonest administration by American officials, it might fan the dying embers into a flame and bring upon us a new war, but it would be a new war, not a continuance of the old one. If, on the other hand, we show integrity, capacity, vigor, and tact in our dealing with the people, we may reasonably expect an uninterrupted era of peace and increasing good will. We are especially glad, therefore, at this juncture, to present to our readers a contribution on the Filipino problem from Señor Sixto Lopez. He is a cultivated and intelligent gentleman, and represents a cultivated and intelligent class in the Philippines. He speaks undoubtedly for a large and influential constituency—those who suppose themselves to be invincibly hostile to American sovereignty, though we are inclined to believe that the number of those who fully share this hostility is a lessening number. The most important portion of his article appears to us to be contained in the following paragraph:

> The Filipinos are, and always have been, prepared to yield, under an understanding as to final independence, all that America can possibly gain by force of arms. In details, the Filipinos are willing to yield to America: (*a*) The right and the means to fulfill all obligations to other nations. (*b*) The right and the means to protect life and property—foreign and native—and to conserve any and every interest possessed in the Philippines. (*c*) The right of American citizens to embark in missionary or educational enterprise if they so desire. (*d*) Bases of trade and military operations for the Far East. (*e*) Coaling stations. (*f*) Repayment of the $20,000,000 paid to Spain, if demanded; and (*g*) trade concessions, or any other reasonable demand not included in the foregoing list. The yielding of these rights and concessions implies that America would have the right to retain troops in the islands, to demand suitable guarantees from the Filipinos, and to appoint a Customs Commissioner in order to secure the fulfillment of such guarantees. But these implied rights need not be, and ought not to be, made perpetual.

We here place beside this proposition, representing the position of what we may call the Filipino irreconcilables, what appears to us ought to be the position of the American people.

On the fourth day of February, 1899, when Aguinaldo initiated the attack on our forces, there were three governments each of which claimed responsibility for and authority in the Philippines—the Spanish, the American, and what we may call the Aguinaldo government. The Spanish government had been for three centuries recognized as the sole political authority in the archipelago, and was the only one with which any foreign power could treat; America had destroyed the Spanish fleet, had control of the Philippine waters, had captured the principal Philippine city, had thus impaired if it had not entirely destroyed the Spanish power in the archipelago, and was negotiating with Spain for the surrender of the islands; the Aguinaldo government was recently organized, had no recognition among the nations of the earth, and its character and capacity were still problematical. If this Aguinaldo government had waited until the negotiations with Spain were completed; if then, after the islands had been transferred from Spain to the United States, it had proposed negotiations with the United States for ultimate independence after a period of protectorate and tutelage; and if, as a basis for such negotiations, it had suggested what Señor Lopez now suggests, we have no doubt that the American Government would have, and we are certain that it

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ought to have, entered into such negotiations for the purpose of securing present peace, and with entire readiness to grant, if the people desired it, ultimate independence to the Filipinos.

But this the Aguinaldo government did not do. It did not even wait until the negotiations between Spain and the United States were completed. At a time when we were still responsible to the inhabitants of the archipelago, to Spain, and to the civilized world for the maintenance of government in the region which we controlled, Aguinaldo attempted to wrest our authority from us by force. This left us no alternative but to maintain our authority by force. The appeal was made, the issue was fought out, the result has been reached. The Aguinaldo government no longer exists; its legislature is scattered, its President is a captive, a part of its Cabinet have already taken oath of allegiance and are holding office under the American Government, one at least of that Cabinet is in exile and a prisoner. There is no political body left with which the American people could treat if they desired to treat, either on the basis which Señor Lopez suggests or on any other basis. The American Government is now the only government in the Philippines. The choice to-day of the Filipino, whatever it may be to-morrow, is between American sovereignty and anarchy.

Under these circumstances the duty of the American people seems to us plain. It is to help the Filipino people to organize a new government. It must be organized from the foundation. The first steps must be the organization of local governments with a territorial government growing out of them, not the organization of a territorial government with local governments growing out of it. This is the historic method of political development in all free communities. Italy, Germany, France, Great Britain, the United States, have all been organized in this way. It is the necessary method of organizing a free government; the other method, organization from the top down, is Oriental, and its product is a Russia or a Turkey.

When this new government is organized, and not before, there will be a body capable of representing the Filipino people—capable, therefore, of entering into negotiations with America. These negotiations might have been entered into by the Aguinaldo government, but the Aguinaldo government has committed suicide; it no longer exists; it can no longer enter into negotiations. When this new and free government has been organized, it will be the duty of America to take advantage of the organization to ascertain, first, the capacity of the people to give adequate protection to persons and property, and, secondly, if they prove that capacity, to ascertain their wish and will respecting the future relations between them and ourselves. It will be our duty, not to govern the Philippines as Russia governs Siberia, or even as England governs Egypt, but to develop in the Philippines a self-governing community; but it is possible neither for us nor for them at this stage of development to determine what shall be the final relations between them and ourselves. Señor Lopez does not know what their wish will be, nobody knows, or can know; they do not know themselves. It is reported that after Chief Justice Arellano had explained to Aguinaldo what the American Government had done and was doing in the Philippines, the latter exclaimed: "I never believed the Americans would be so fair and liberal!" This may be a purely imaginary report, but it is not an improbable one. America at war is not the same as America at peace; American military government is not the same as American civil government. The Filipinos have no means of knowing what would be the relative advantages and disadvantages of organic connection with the United States; we ourselves do not know.

Nor can we assume that their only relation to the United States must be either that of a dependency imperialistically governed, or that of absolute independence. American genius, by the formation of the Constitution of the United States, created an entirely new form of political organization in a union under a federal government of independent communities. It is quite conceivable that American genius may discover a new form of colonial relationship unlike any that has ever been established by Holland, Germany, France, or England. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention. It is impossible to determine beforehand to what new political relationship between a strong

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and protecting country and a weak country, needing both protection and guidance, necessity may give birth.

Justice now requires the organization of an efficient and self-governing community in the Philippines, guaranteeing to the Filipinos the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The President has been directed to take the steps toward the organization of such a government. The Taft Commission is busy carrying out this direction. Apparently it is doing this with the approval and to the satisfaction of the Filipino people. When this is done, justice will require that we establish official relations with the Filipino people which will also be satisfactory to them. The Outlook believes that, if we do our intermediary work wisely, justly, and well, the Filipino people will desire some form of permanent organic relations with the United States. If they do, it will then be time enough to determine what that relationship shall be; if they do not, it will then be time enough to declare their independence.

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Missionaries in China

The Christian Church in China has just undergone a martyrdom which, in the numbers slain and the awful atrocities perpetrated, has had no parallel since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and no parallel in any pagan persecution of a Christian people since the old Roman days. The Christian martyrs slain are numbered by the thousands; the Protestant missionary leaders slain are estimated to be not less than a hundred. There is no estimate of the amount of property destroyed, and of the number of Christians made homeless and turned adrift to perish, unsheltered and unfed. Many, if not most, of these martyred Christians might have escaped by recantation; many, if not all, these murdered missionaries might have escaped by flight. For, living in the villages in the interior, and in close contact with the people, the missionaries understood the temper of the Chinese better than the traders or the Consuls in the great cities, and far better than the explorers, the engineers, and the travelers passing through the country. They saw the storm approaching; they warned the Powers of its approach, and warned in vain; but they would not desert their people. Jesus Christ has indicated the true distinction between a hireling and a good shepherd. "The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep; but he that is an hireling seeth the wolf coming, and fleeth because he is an hireling." These men saw the wolf coming, and refused to flee; they remained to lay down their lives for their fellows in the Christian faith. And here at home, where we may believe or disbelieve without peril and without obloquy, this terrible tragedy, this splendid heroism, this sublime devotion to faith, this more than soldierly loyalty to one's fellows, passes for nothing with critics like Mark Twain, who can see in individual action of individual men only an occasion for exultant criticism, and with newspapers like the New York "Times," which can see in this heroic history nothing but a ground for general charges against the missionaries as disturbers of the public peace. These critics remind us of what a keen American satirist said years ago of a famous statesman: "He can see a nail in a barn door farther than any living man; but he cannot see the barn door."

Vague and general charges against missionaries cannot be met except by denials equally general or by a call for specifications. When, for instance, the New York "Times" affirms that "to maintain missionaries in a false position by a show of force, as has been done in more than one instance," etc., etc., we can only ask for a single instance in which missionaries have asked to be maintained in a false position by a show of force. So when Sir Robert Hart says that "even some missionaries took such a leading part in 'spoiling the Egyptians' for the greater glory of God,'" etc., etc., we can again only ask to have the missionaries designated by name, that if the charge is true they may be promptly discharged from service in disgrace, and if not true the fair name of the entire missionary force may not be shadowed by such unproved and unspecified charges. But specific charges can be met, and ought to be met, either with confession and condemnation, with acknowledgment and defense, or with denial and call for proof, according to the case. We have made some attempt to gather out of all these vague charges those that are definite

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and ascertain for our readers' benefit, as far as possible, the truth respecting them. Out of them all we can extract but four sufficiently specific to be worthy of consideration.

I. "Harper's Weekly" for March 23 refers to a report that at a meeting of missionaries in Peking on January 30 resolutions were adopted asking the American and British Governments to insist that former treaties respecting missionaries are reaffirmed, that Chinese of any rank be permitted to accept Christianity without injury to their prospects, that missionaries be allowed to live in the interior, own property, and possess passports, and that relief be found for the suffering native Christians. "Harper's Weekly" questions whether these resolutions do not indicate an inclination to lean on the secular arm. "Civilization," it says, "may be carried forward with a strong hand, but whether Christianity can is matter of dispute."

The Outlook thinks the question which "Harper's Weekly" asks is a rational one. While we do not wish to judge the case without fuller knowledge of the necessity, it appears to us that convening such a meeting and passing such resolutions was inexpedient. If Roman Catholic priests had met and passed analogous resolutions, Protestant suspicion would have been aroused; if Protestant missionaries meet and pass such resolutions, anti-ecclesiastical suspicion is aroused. Missionaries are entitled to the same protection as other foreigners, no more, no less. To demand more is a mistake in morals; to seem to demand more is a mistake in policy. Native Christians must depend on the protection of the government under which they live. They must not look, because they are Christians, to foreign governments for protection. Foreign missionaries must depend on the rights which treaties with foreign countries give to all foreigners; no less should be accorded to them, no more should be asked by them. It were better to suffer some serious injustice than to so act as to arouse even unjust suspicion that they are asking special favors.

II. Analogous to this criticism in "Harper's Weekly," a criticism perfectly courteous and, we are inclined to think, legitimate, is one which has been brought against missionaries for demanding the punishment of the Boxers. That the missionaries who best understand the Chinese character are of the opinion that the only way to prevent the recurrence of the recent tragedy is by punishing those who have been ringleaders in it is unquestionably true. That this opinion is sound we entirely believe. In some instances local Chinese officials have publicly advised people to arm themselves with knives and destroy those whom they know to have been Boxers guilty of murder and brigandage, and the missionaries have urged legal punishment in order to prevent such processes of retaliation. That some of them have been too ready to offer advice is just as possible as that some others have been too loth to do so; but if there is any evidence that any missionary has been actuated by a spirit of revenge, has encouraged the spirit of revenge, or has demanded retaliation for the purposes of revenge, we have yet to learn of the instance.

The specific charge against Dr. Ament, that he conducted a series of expeditions to the Chinese villages where native Christians had been killed and their property destroyed, and recovered damages from them, a report originating in the New York "Sun," reported by Mark Twain in the "North American Review" for February, and repeated by him in the "North American Review" for April, has caused an elaborate interview to be sought with Dr. Ament by the New York "Sun," which occupies nearly a page of that paper. To that interview the student is referred for details. The facts respecting his collection of damages from Chinese villages can be stated in a paragraph. A very ancient law makes the village responsible for the damages inflicted by a mob. In Anglo-Saxon communities this law dates from very early times, and it still exists in several States of this Union. It seems to us founded in fundamental justice, and the fact that it is so ancient and so common indicates that there is a general consensus of opinion in support of it.

Relying upon this law, Dr. Ament visited villages where the property of Christians had been destroyed and Christians had been impoverished, turned adrift, and left dependent upon charity. In his first expedition he took soldiers

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with him for his own protection; in subsequent expeditions he went unprotected. The money collected by these expeditions was not used for the benefit of the missionaries nor for their ecclesiastical organization; it was used to repair in some small measure the wrong that had been done to the Chinese who had been plundered. The original complaint that this was in the nature of a freebooting expedition is now practically, though not quite frankly, abandoned; the gravamen of the charge now preferred against Mr. Ament is that he collected from the villages one-third more than the actual pecuniary damage inflicted in the destruction of property. If this collection was in violation of Chinese law, it was wrong; if the law provided that damages should be paid for the lives destroyed, as it once did in England and formerly did in Ohio, and the one-third was agreed upon in accordance with such law, the collection of the one-third was right. The exact facts are not known by us, and evidently are not known to either Mark Twain or the New York "Sun." It must be remembered that the Chinese Christians naturally looked to the missionary as their counselor and friend in the appalling calamity which had come upon them; that no appeal could be made to the Imperial Government, which was in hiding and wholly inaccessible; and that thus the missionary had to choose between three alternative courses; he could leave his native friends unsuccored and uncared for, he could appeal to the military arm of the foreign powers, or he could appeal to the only Chinese authority which existed, that of the local government, to afford the redress which the local laws of the Chinese people prescribed for such a case. In pursuing the latter course Dr. Ament appears to us to have shown both a Christian spirit and a statesman's wisdom. And there is nothing to indicate that he called for greater or other redress than was prescribed by a law common, in its essential features, both to China and to some of the States of our own country.

IV. The fourth specific charge is furnished by Mr. George Lynch, a war correspondent in China. He affirms that "when the soldiers were prohibited from looting, no such prohibition seemed to operate with the missionaries. For instance, the Rev. Mr. Tewksbury held a great sale of looted goods, which lasted several days. Rev. Dr. Ament also held a great sale of his enemies' effects. . . . As the stock became depleted it was replenished by the efforts of his converts, who were ransacking the houses in the neighborhood." This charge is pronounced explicitly "not true" by Dr. Ament. Thus an issue of fact is joined between the two. At the same time Dr. Ament states some facts which may have seemed to Mr. Lynch to justify his statement. From his interview and from other sources we make this brief statement of the facts:

Peking was without law. The Chinese officials had fled. Many of the houses which had been occupied by ringleaders of the Boxer mobs were vacant. Hundreds of the poorer Chinese, especially the Christian Chinese, were houseless and on the verge of starvation. There was little law and no order. Foreign soldiers and native Chinamen vied with each other in plundering wherever they could lay their hands. Under these circumstances the missionaries in Peking took possession of some of the abandoned houses. In some cases they did this with the distinct authorization of the military authorities. In one section a German General demanded quarters for a thousand soldiers, who, had they been left to themselves, would have driven the people out of their homes, and at the end of the winter left little within them but walls and roof. A missionary lady provided the General with places for his thousand soldiers, taking their agreement to leave houses and furniture as they found them, and so saved them intact for the return of their owners. In other instances the presence of the missionary in the house kept freebooters away; in more than one case the missionary was subsequently thanked by the Chinaman for taking possession of his house and thus furnishing some security against the general destruction of his property. Under the authority of Mr. Conger, the American representative, the stuff found by missionaries in some of the abandoned houses, known to belong to ringleaders of the mobs, was sold, and the proceeds of the sale applied to the succor of the Chinese Christians. In other instances

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the Chinese Christians bought from soldiers or from reduced rich families and resold at a profit what they had purchased, and the proceeds were turned over to the general fund. These facts appear to afford all the basis for the general charge of Sir Robert Hart and the more specific charges of Mr. George Lynch.

The Outlook does not assume to express any final judgment respecting these various charges. We hope that the Missionary Boards, acting either in concert or separately, will secure a rigid investigation by some impartial committee, and, if there has been any wrongdoing, will let it be known. If disgrace be deserved, let it fall where it ought to fall. Missionaries are to be held to a higher standard of morality than soldiers; they are not to be defended or excused because they are missionaries. Not even "previous good character" can serve as a defense, though it may as a palliation, for offenses against the moral law. In the general excitement and disorder which followed the capture of Peking some missionaries may have lost their heads and assumed responsibilities which they would better not have assumed, and some may have shown a careless conscience in picking up from the general wreckage ownerless articles for their own use which should have been sold for the general benefit. But there is not as yet anything worthy to be called evidence that this was done in even a single case. To urge their views of public questions on foreign governments may not have been politic, but it was not immoral. To urge the punishment by law of notorious ringleaders as a means of preventing private retaliation and revenge may have been inexpedient, but it was not vindictive. To appeal to Chinese authorities to provide, by the enforcement of Chinese law, succor for the destitute and the starving was to act a part at once Christian and statesmanlike. To take possession of abandoned houses in a time of general anarchy and use them for the public welfare, and to save from general loot ownerless articles and sell them for the benefit of impoverished and innocent Chinamen, showed a degree of force and wisdom in a great emergency which laymen generally have not attributed to missionaries. What official investigation may show we cannot tell; but, so far as unofficial evidence throws light on the subject, the American missionaries issue from this terrible tragedy with a record which any men might be proud to hand down to their children and their children's children.

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An American Exposition

The opening of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo next month will be a significant event in the history of the New World. Heretofore the most important expositions have been international; they have presented the industries, the science, the art—in a word, the civilization—of the whole world; and their chief value has been the rich opportunities for comparison which have been afforded. Educationally, no one can question the importance of these expositions; they have gone a long way towards equalizing artistic and industrial conditions, by making each nation aware of the superiority at some points of other nations, and by opening its eyes to better methods. It has been inpossible to look the world in the face at any great exposition and not realize the nobility of the great competition of civilization, or to miss the impulse which comes from such a competition. The exposition in Philadelphia was the beginning of a new epoch of industrial and decorative art in this country; for the first time there was diffused among the people on the continent an approximately adequate idea of the value of art and the possibilities of securing it in all parts of the country. To the movement which was initiated in Philadelphia the Chicago Exposition gave an immense impetus. That exposition was a revelation to Americans, as well as to the world at large, of æsthetic possibilities. It was an illustration of nobility in handling a great opportunity by an intelligent city; and many men saw for the first time what could be done by co-operation in order to secure the services of the highest intelligence and the best training. The Pan-American Exposition will have the æsthetic beauty of the Chicago Exposition, with one notable additional feature—the introduction of a brilliant color scheme. It will present to the eye that which the Chicago Fair presented, and which the Paris Fair utterly lacked—unity of design, adaptation, and structure throughout.

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All the accessories of the Fair will combine to deepen its harmonious beauty. It will be held on the limits of one of the most beautiful cities in the country, and one especially adapted for the purposes of an Exposition; for there is no more comfortable summer city in America than Buffalo. The great highway of the approach to the Fair will be Delaware Avenue, one of the most beautiful streets in America. From Delaware Avenue the sightseer will enter the park, and from the park he will pass into the Exposition grounds, the park serving as an impressive entrance. When he enters the grounds he will find himself looking at a beautiful Spanish-American city, symmetrically laid out, with beautiful waterways, masses of flowers, ornamental approaches, and a rich harmony of color, the contribution of the Latin temperament and the Latin imagination to the American continent.

The chief characteristic of the Fair, however, will not be its external form, though that promises to be, in its unity, completeness, and brilliancy, the most beautiful of all the series of great expositions, but its illustration of civilization in the New World; it will justify its name of "Pan-American" by presenting everything of significance from the extreme north to the extreme south. Nothing foreign will be found within the grounds; everything will be made on this side of the ocean—architecture, industry, educational systems, ethnological displays, manual products, agricultural methods, art. Everything, in a word, will be American, not in any divisive sense, but American for the purpose of showing in a concrete fashion what America has achieved in the three centuries which have passed since the earliest colonization. When one remembers the immense varieties of life and of the products of life which are produced by the peoples between Baffin Bay and the Straits of Magellan, it will be seen that the Pan-American Exposition will present, not only the greatest variety of industries and arts, but also a picture of civilization from its initial stages to its highest development.

Canada, Mexico, the Central and South American Republics, have shown the greatest interest in the enterprise, and in most cases have done their utmost to enrich it with representative illustrations of their own products and civilization. It can hardly escape the attention of the world that the Pan-American will be, in effect, an Exposition of the development of the race under free institutions; for a very large part of the peoples of the New World are living under popular governments; and the whole world will have a chance, for the first time in any complete fashion, to study the material results of the working out of the democratic idea.

The commercial importance of the Exposition is likely to be very considerable. It has been very largely due to the lack of foresight on the part of Americans that European influence has become so great in South America. It is idle to declaim against the spread of the German influence, for instance, and the immense hold which German capital and German skill have secured in various parts of South America. The German is there simply because he has been quicker to see the opportunity and more prompt to seize it than his American competitor. The Exposition is likely to open the eyes of the United States to the resources for commercial development of South America; and it is also likely to make the South Americans aware of the immense commercial service which they can secure from the United States.

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The Center of Unity

The tendency, so often noted of late years, to pay increased attention to the Lenten season, and to emphasize by unusual services the typical experiences of that season in the life of Christ, was never so marked as during the past six weeks. In all parts of the country, among churches of almost every denomination and Christians of every communion, the memories and the associations of the Lenten season were made the subject of preaching, meditation, and prayer. The special noonday services held in many of the large cities were attended by congregations which filled the edifices; and the number of busy men and of women engaged in self-support who were willing to take half an hour out of the short noon hour for the sake of attending service was not only surprisingly large, but appears to be growing from year to year. The Episcopal churches in this city were crowded to the doors on Good Friday for the three hours'

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service, hundreds of men staying through the entire service. Special Good Friday services were held in Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, and Unitarian churches, and there was evident a deepening feeling of reverence for the spiritual significance of the day, and a deeper appreciation of what it stands for in the spiritual life of the world.

Such a tendency shows the deep current which, underneath all surface differences, tends more and more to bring Christians together—that current which is silently, slowly, but steadily, like the wash of the sea, wearing away all conventional, all artificial and purely intellectual, differences, making men aware of the unity at the heart of Christendom. This tendency in its deepest aspect is a revelation of a change which is not only making for the unity of Christendom, but for its revitalization; the shifting of emphasis from philosophy, dogma, and creeds to the living Christ—the divine personality in whose life all creeds must find their verification; who not only revealed the truth, but was the Truth. Dr. Gordon, in his notable discussion of modern religious conditions in "The New Epoch for Faith," has brought out very strikingly the significance of what may be called the modern humanistic movement—the movement which tends more and more to discover what is divine in man by clearly discerning his sonship to the Infinite and the kinship between his nature and the nature of God. Without the key of man's mind nature is incomprehensible, and all attempts to formulate a natural theology by studying nature apart from man are doomed to failure from the beginning. In like manner, and following a kindred instinct, men are turning more and more from all attempts to state in terms of abstract truth and formal logic a philosophy of Christianity to the person, the spirit, and the life of its founder, discerning that what he came into the world to do was not primarily to disclose a system of religion, a body of doctrine, but to bring life and immortality to light. What men are seeking to-day with passionate insistence is not additions to their knowledge, but the deepening and the widening of the sense of life—that immortal vitality in which all great things have their roots, and by the aid of which all great achievements are made. It is this creative power which flows from God himself for which men yearn, and it is this which they find in the personality of Christ. Instinctively or intelligently, in all churches, devout men of a religious spirit are turning away from systems and creeds to a Person. The biography of that Person becomes of more searching interest year by year; and every season the great days of the Christian year are more and more widely observed, as men turn to that Person; and, being drawn to a common center, they are being drawn to one another.

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The Spectator

The Spectator thinks that if the United States and Denmark strike a bargain over the island of St. Thomas, while his new fellow-citizens may be as un-American as the Eskimos of Alaska, yet, of all the West Indian islands he has seen, it is the one most ready for American colonization. Its inhabitants speak English, and the little town of Charlotte Amalie, where the population is massed, is spotlessly clean, so that similarity of language and the sense of civic proprieties would be links in the chain of natural union. English the Spectator calls the language, but such a strange jargon as it really is! The cabmen have a courteous way of adapting their speech to the limitations of the tourist's comprehension, but among themselves their words are so full and heavy and labial that their meaning is absolutely lost by the uninitiated. It is the great Saxon tongue spoken by primitive negroes ruled over by a Danish-speaking aristocracy in an isolated West Indian colony. The wonder is, like that of the old comment on a woman speaking Greek, not that it is done badly, but that it is done at all. This patois is heard to best advantage in the market square. The Spectator listened to the dickering and the hawking for a half-hour perhaps, and much of the English was as foreign in sound as the French and Spanish of the Latin colonies. He found, moreover, a curious stupidity among the venders if questioned in complicated sentences. The trouble disappeared when dependent clauses and encumbering particles were banished. "What are you charging for the bananas?"

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would prove puzzling, when "Bananas, how much?" might open a perfect volley of answers and recommendations.

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Any amount of fruit and vegetables was for sale, but only one of the trays on the ground—and that is the form the market-stall takes in St. Thomas—contained meat. The Spectator remarked upon this fact to the old woman who squatted behind the meat-tray. "How is it you sell meat? All the others sell fruit and vegetables." "Yes, I tell you," she answered. "An old woman, she have a cow what break his neck. She take to slaughter and put him in salt." Her stock of salted beef was the result of this accidental bovine mishap. It is apparent that the Danish Governor and the upper class in the island must obtain their meat supply somewhere else than in the local market, unless, like the St. Thomas natives themselves, they are satisfied with meat when Providence sees fit to bestow it. The health of the population seems to have suffered in no way on account of vegetarianism. Seldom is a healthier-looking set of people to be seen. The appearance of the women generally is more impressive than that of the men. The business and shopkeeping are mainly in the hands of foreigners and whites, the shop signs showing English, Danish, and Jewish names, while the only developed native or negro industry, that of coaling, is carried on by women.

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Early in the morning rowboats put out from the town. They are freighted to the water's edge with women bound for the coaling docks across the harbor. The women tuck up their skirts, twist a roll of bagging into a turban, and, swinging an eighty-pound basket of coal on their heads, stalk up a gang-plank and dump the load into the side of the ship; then back again for another full basket, back and forth, back and forth, like a procession of ants, each carrying her contribution to the ever-rising heap in the hold. Every time a full basket passes the inspector, the woman receives a ticket, redeemable at the end of the day's work for one cent. These women often make the round trip from the coal-yard to the ship three hundred times, but have to pay the basket-filler in the yard one-third, so that their earnings are seldom more than two dollars for a full day's work. Hard as the toil had appeared, it was evident that these sturdy women were quite equal to the exertion and in no way exhausted by it, for, as the Spectator steamed out of the harbor at sunset, the band playing on board, the coaling-women were dancing mad jigs on the dock, the darky feet, as usual, being unable to resist the sound of music.

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It is true of St. Thomas, as of all the West Indies, that there is nothing of characteristic interest to be bought, for the simple reason that the natives produce nothing. St. Thomas bay rum and Florida water claim some reputation. The bay-leaves that grow on the island have, indeed, a luscious sweetness when merely crushed in the hand, and are used to good purpose in flavoring bay soaps and bay creams and bay salts as well as bay rum. The best "St. Thomas Florida water," however, is not indigenous, but is imported thither from New York. It was interesting to the Spectator to notice the names of the rowboats in the harbor—"Liberty" and "City of Paris"—doubtless after the ship that had once brought a party of Americans to the island. Significant was the fact that the German band on board the Spectator's ship played the "Star-Spangled Banner" in greeting St. Thomas, whereas the "Marseillaise" was played at Martinique and "God Save the King" at Trinidad—at each place the national anthem. It was an international recognition, somewhat premature perhaps, that the sovereignty of the beautiful West India island had passed to the United States.

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More interesting even than the boughten island was the island for which we have fought. The Spectator reached Havana in time to attend a meeting of the Cuban Convention at which the subject of the day was the relation between the United States and Cuba. The Convention was held in a theater named "Teatro Marti," in honor of the great Cuban patriot Marti, who was the firebrand in the last struggle of the island against Spain. It was he who spread the determination and

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the motto, "Independence or death." The meeting was announced for 2 P.M., and the Spectator, who had been rambling around since one, established himself in a good seat at the official hour and waited until nearly six o'clock for the actual beginning of the session. It may have been indicative either of the interest of the occasion or of the patience of the Cuban character, but the audience showed no signs of being bored by four hours of waiting.

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The important business that had kept the delegates in secret session all the previous night and until three in the morning was still incomplete, and there was constant coming and going through the mysterious curtains at the back of the theater. The work being done was probably clerical, for different members would often come out and sit down at their desks to write or read or talk. The old radical, Cisneros, Marquis of Santa Lucia, stalked about talking earnestly at and into every little group that he could find. He is a lean, nervous man, with a long white beard, and wore a frock coat and a slouch hat which was not removed during all the hot afternoon. Representing a less radical, if not an absolutely opposite, sentiment was Elecio Giberza, the brilliant lawyer, master of all the clever turns that the courts of Spain could teach. Other notable persons were Señor Rivera, the Porto Rican, and José Morlot, with their thrilling war records, and the millionaire Gonzalo de Quesada, with his long brown hair and blue eyes, a graceful, polished cosmopolitan, who spent the hours of waiting in conversation with the ladies in the boxes—and it was surprising how many women were present. Last, but not least, was Juan Gualberto Gomez, the spry little mulatto, with keen eyes glancing through a pair of spectacles. His manner was businesslike, and he seemed to command respect.

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At last the President of the Convention, Domingo Mendez Capoti, called the meeting to order in open session. The body of "Teatro Marti" was full of the members' desks and reporters' tables. The boxes in the dress-circle were occupied by the ladies; the people were in the galleries. The members took their seats, and absolute quiet prevailed. The message from Washington was read and listened to respectfully. The Cuban reply was then read and re-read. Señor Capoti allowed no interruption or applause. His bell insisted on an orderly and self-contained meeting; but, the business being ended, the people shouted their seal of approval on the work of their Commission. The document that refused to yield to the United States three coaling-stations—three footholds on their Treasure Island, three keys, as one Cuban was heard to express it, to their front door—met with long cheers of "Bravo, bravo, Cuba Libre!"

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The Spectator's companion of the hour was a cultivated, intelligent Cuban who had received a British education, a linguist who had fought three years at General Gomez's side in order to act as his interpreter. The Cuban cause was, of course, close to his heart, and yet he frequently took the American point of view, and broadly discussed Cuban mistakes as well as American tactlessness. His voice quivered as he spoke lovingly of the Cuban hope, the Cuban struggle, the way they had held out, their readiness to fight on and on against the ever-weakening Spaniard—to eat grass when all else failed. He talked well, with that fervor of patriotism a Northerner seeks to hide. "So you want your liberty," said an old American gentleman sitting near; "and what, pray, will you do with it? You have no money; you have no navy." The Cuban understood the situation so well—too well. He pressed his hand to his forehead as if to cover the frown of despair. "Ah, well," he answered, but the ring had left his voice, "those things will come—in time."

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After their one big cheer, the crowd filed out contentedly into the streets of Havana, taking it apparently as a matter of course that their delegates, in the name of a weak little nascent republic, had refused the terms stated by the President of the most powerful republic on earth. Their move was foolhardy, perhaps, but, considering their solitary position,

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their utter helplessness, their dependence on the very friend they were perhaps antagonizing, it seemed to the Spectator that their fearlessness, unless it were a stroke of bluff, was of a kind to suggest knights and crusaders, valor that loves a lost cause, chivalry that clings to a forlorn hope.

The Legal Aspects of Aguinaldo's Capture

By Theodore S. Woolsey

Professor of International Law in Yale University

[We think there are many people who, although they believe that the general course of the United States Government in the Philippines is right and just, have been disturbed by some of the methods employed by General Funston in the capture of Aguinaldo. We have already stated our opinion that the laws and usages of war were not violated by General Funston's achievement. We have asked Professor Woolsey, who is one of the leading experts in this country on questions of international law, to state the legal aspects of the case in the following article. We add that a very well known retired officer of the regular army of the United States, a man who has not only a military reputation but a literary reputation, and who is well qualified to speak for those army men who have the highest and keenest sense of personal honor, writes to us as follows: "My opinion, apart from the law, the wording of which would need careful reading, is that Funston is entirely justified in what he did. It seems to me that this particular kind of work is within the province of a subaltern rather than of a general officer; but I see no reason, if I have read the facts accurately, to believe that Funston went outside of anything allowable to a man doing such work and facing the usual risks of one who undertakes it. It is not the work an officer likes to do, and in a sense this is all the more creditable to Funston." We take up this episode of the Philippine conflict, not because we wish to apologize for it, nor because we wish to magnify its importance, but because we think our readers desire to know whether it is compatible with legitimate and honorable warfare.—THE EDITORS.]

THERE are two questions involved in the capture of Aguinaldo by General Funston, which are brought prominently forward by much hostile criticism of the methods employed. These are: (1) Were these methods such as are permitted by the rules of civilized warfare? (2) Is the contest between certain Filipinos and the United States Government legally and technically war, to be carried on in accordance with a definite code or set of rules?

The two acts most criticised are, the disguise of the loyal native troops in Filipino uniforms, and smoothing the way for their access to Aguinaldo by false letters, their white leaders being reported prisoners. Exactly what is involved in the first of these, it is not easy to say. Neither Filipinos nor Macabebes have been supposed to be particular in the matter of uniform. But we will take the facts as reported and as above stated.

The Convention signed at The Hague in 1899, and since ratified by the United States, is the last word on the subject of land warfare. It is a treaty, binding only the parties to it as against one another. But it is also the latest and highest standard of conduct in carrying on hostilities.

The rules applicable to our inquiry are these. Article XXIII. specifically forbids belligerents (*b*) "to kill or wound treacherously individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army;" also (*f*) to "make improper use of a flag of truce, the national flag, or the enemy's military ensigns or uniforms, as well as the distinctive badges of the Geneva Convention." But Article XXIV. declares that "ruses of war and the employment of methods necessary to obtain information about the enemy and the country are allowable."

What do these rules mean?

The prohibition of treacherous killing does not forbid military ambush, wholesale slaughter by hidden mines, night attacks, and such like; it is simply intended to forbid assassination, putting a price on an enemy's head, such killing as the "war rebel" is guilty of when, avowedly a non-combatant, he lies in wait for an enemy's stragglers.[1]

The use of enemy's uniform to deceive him. This is forbidden also by the Oxford Code of the Institute of International Law, adopted 1880, § 8 (*d*), and by the Brussels Code of 1875 (Art. 13, F), upon which the

[1] Halleck II., § 20, p. 23. Lieber's Code, § 148. Oxford Code 8 (*b*).

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Hague rules are based. Lieber's Code for the armies of the United States in the field (§ 63, 64) does not exactly forbid the practice, but warns those who employ it that they are not entitled to quarter if captured.

Deception by forged letters. The circulation of false news, concealment or fraudulent revelation of movements, putting forged despatches into an enemy's hands, all these are as old as war itself, and have never been forbidden by any rule. They are legitimate "ruses of war." But to break faith, that is an unpardonable sin. Lieber makes this distinction, § 15, when he says military necessity admits of "such deception as does not involve the breaking of good faith . . .;" and § 16 "admits of deception, but disclaims acts of perfidy."[1] Were the United States waging war with a civilized power which was itself governed by similar rules, General Funston would be properly criticised for disguising his men in enemy's uniforms, but not for employing forged letters. But, as the facts are, since the Aguinaldo party is not a signatory of the Hague Convention, and since the laws of war are only reciprocally binding, there was no obligation on the part of the United States army to refrain from using enemy's uniforms for the enemy's deception.

When the wider question of the name and nature of the contest is considered, we are forced to come to much the same conclusion.

The so-called Filipino Republic is but a body of insurgents against the sovereignty of the United States. It has gained no international standing or rights through the recognition of its belligerency by any power. The United States has never recognized any other status than insurgency by word or by act, by proclamation or blockade, for instance. Not being a body recognized by international law, the insurgents are neither bound by the obligations nor entitled to the rights of such a body. In fighting them, in turn the United States is not bound by rules which are only binding reciprocally when the other party observes them also. But humanity cannot be lost sight of, and acts of cruelty will be met by retaliation. The rules which *do* govern the United States army, therefore, in its contest with the Filipinos, are those which humanity and the fear of retaliation dictate. Lieber's Code was framed during our Civil War. The South had been recognized as a belligerent by many foreign powers, and by the North also in applying the laws of blockade, contraband, and search to it and to the neutral. The circumstances were, therefore, altogether different. Yet, even in the war with the South, Lieber did not consider the rules of war necessarily and wholly applicable. He says, §152, "When humanity induces the adoption of the rules of regular war toward rebels, whether the adoption is partial or entire," it does not work recognition of their government. He thus clearly implied that if the rules of regular warfare were adopted in the struggle with the South, it was because of humanity, and that they might be only partially accorded. If this were true in a civil war with our own people, recognized as belligerents, how much more is it true in contest with a small body of insurgents whose belligerency has been recognized by no one.[1]

The question is thus one of ethics and policy, not of law. But to allow the insurgents to assassinate, to put on and off the military character, occasionally to kill prisoners, and to violate the white flag, while at the same time exacting specific observance of the nicest rules of civilized warfare from the Americans, is not a question of either law or ethics, but of common sense.

The kind treatment of the insurgent leader after capture is proof that in this affair, as in others, humanity governed the actions of our army. Aguinaldo's readiness to swear allegiance to the Government of his captors, and the great stride made in consequence toward pacification, are proofs that military necessity justified his capture. Contrast the good likely to flow from the hastening of the end of the insurrection by means of it, with the offense of the use of enemy's uniforms—a stratagem illegal in war only with a lawful belligerent—and you have the measure of the justice of the criticisms of this affair.

[1] See Halleck, Baker's ed., II., § 25, p. 29. Hall. Int. Law, 2d ed., p. 187.

[1] Halleck, II., p. 467, allows punishing insurgents with death.

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The Philippine Problem: A Proposition for a Solution

By Sixto Lopez

[Mr. Sixto Lopez is an authoritative though not an official representative of the Filipino people in the United States. He is, like a very large body of his fellow-countrymen, a man not only of native intelligence but of education, cultivation, and agreeable personality. One has only to read his article to see that he possesses a clear mind and a reasoning faculty of unusual logical power. At our request Mr. Lopez has undertaken to state the basis on which he believes his countrymen would cheerfully acquiesce in American control of the Philippine Islands. We think his article deserves wide reading and careful consideration. We comment more fully on it in another column.—THE EDITORS.]

"WHAT form of government, exercised by the United States, would the Filipinos acquiesce in, so as to put an end to the war and pave the way for a peaceful and an intelligent conference on the question of final independence?"

This question, which has been put to me by the editors of The Outlook, is one that comes from many other sources. It is a question which can be answered in one sentence: The Filipinos would accept the same or any similar form of government or control as that exercised over Cuba during the interregnum between cession by Spain and final independence. Nay, more, the Filipinos would accept any form of government, any form of despotism, government by caprice or by the will of any one with or without benevolent intentions, provided that they be given a similar promise to that given to the Cubans. Any form of government, or government without any form, would be preferable to the present indescribable horror under which honest men are not allowed to express their opinions; by which the best of our people are driven through swamp and jungle and shot down in the proportion, according to official reports, of five killed to one wounded; and during which the honor of our women, in outlying districts, is at the mercy of common soldiers' passion. There never has been any dispute or objection, as far as the Filipinos are concerned, as to what form of government they are prepared to temporarily accept. They have already accepted the arbitrament of war, and war is the worst condition conceivable, especially when waged by an Anglo-Saxon race which despises its opponent as an alien or inferior people. Yet the Filipinos accepted it with a full knowledge of its horror and of the sacrifices in life and property which they knew they would be called upon to make.

It is therefore unnecessary to inquire if the Filipinos would be prepared to accept a less horrible condition of affairs, coupled with the understanding that there was to be "a peaceful and an intelligent conference on the question of final independence." The whole trouble lies in the fact that the Filipinos have never been promised or offered a conference upon the question of final independence. If they had been offered such a conference, the war would have ceased at once. But when Aguinaldo's emissaries came to confer with the Schurman Commission, they were told that the question of American sovereignty (which was the negation of Philippine independence) had been settled and could not, therefore, be discussed. The Bacon resolution and other similar resolutions have been rejected by Congress, and the only official statement of America's intention with regard to the Philippines is the proclamation of the President annexing the whole of the archipelago and demanding unconditional and apparently perpetual submission to American sovereignty.

Every fair-minded man will see, and many will admit, that the Filipinos have never been treated as though they were human beings possessing rights and aspirations of their own. They have been required to submit to American authority without a promise or a guarantee that the question of final independence would ever be discussed in an intelligent or any other kind of conference. On the contrary, they have been told that the question was one which could not be discussed at all. The

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question of independence has never been referred to in any official utterance. The only assurances that the Filipinos have received—and these not from Congress but from the President, whose decision Congress may or may not sustain—are that they shall have such personal liberty and such a share in the government of their own country "as is consistent with American interests and the discharge of American obligations." But, worse than this, America is to be the sole judge of the Filipinos' fitness for taking any part in the government of their own country. They are to be given only such things as America may choose to give them, not as a matter of right, but in the form of benevolence. Their rights are thus to become privileges, and everything that they are permitted to enjoy will be due to the benevolence of a foreign master who, whilst giving, has yet the power to withhold. It ought to be plain to the meanest intellect that this is a wholly one-sided arrangement, which would never have been offered except under the consciousness of overwhelming power to enforce it. It is a thousand times less liberal than the conditions imposed by England upon the Transvaal, and yet, presumably, American sympathies generally are with the latter. One can imagine with what scorn Washington and Jefferson and Patrick Henry would have refused such terms had they been offered by George III. And every one knows with what derision the English potentate's proclamation was met when he declared that he was "desirous of restoring to them [the American colonists] the blessings of law, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for the calamities of war and the arbitrary *tyranny of their chiefs*."

Now, the above truthfully and fairly represents the actual condition of affairs—a condition to which the Filipinos will never submit, and which is causing a prolongation of the war with all its attendant horrors; and yet I confess that it does not truthfully represent the desires and intentions of the American people generally. I am aware that there are those in America, as in every country in the world, who desire to lay hands upon everything within reach, irrespective of the laws relating to *meum* and *tuum*. But they constitute only a minority. I am convinced that a large majority of the American people desire to treat the Filipinos fairly, as human beings possessing certain rights; and that they do not intend to deny ultimate independence to a people who once fought side by side with American soldiers and rendered all the assistance in their power against "a common enemy." And here we reach the essence of the whole difficulty. This same majority of American people have placed in power those who do not, or who will not, in their official utterances, declare to the Filipinos the real intention of this majority. Yet the Filipinos, if they submit at all, must do so, not to the conditions required by this majority, which presuppose and include final independence, but to the conditions which I have explained above, and in which no mention is made of final independence.

It is, therefore, clear that the solution of the Philippine problem lies in the bringing of official assurances into line with the desire and intention of the majority of the American people. If this can be achieved, the Filipinos will not continue, or *desire* to continue, the strife for one day longer.

It may be premised that the Filipinos are not unreasonable in their desires. Indeed, under present conditions they would naturally be disposed to accept terms which might be regarded as somewhat unreasonable. On the other hand, America ought to admit that the Filipinos do possess certain rights, and that flat-footed power is neither a just nor a practicable means of settling the difficulty.

There are also certain propositions which, if not admitted as self-evident, ought to receive at least some attention. A people capable of civilized government is capable of self-government. Fitness lies not so much in the ability of the few men deputed to make and administer the laws as in the nature of the people themselves, in their deference to properly constituted authority, and in their social, domestic, and personal virtues. The best administrators will never succeed in governing a bad people, but indifferent administrators may succeed in governing a good people. Colonial government, unless it be what is termed responsible government, has never proved a conspicuous success. Representative government is

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the only sure means of securing purity in administration.

These propositions show that if the Filipinos are capable of being governed by America, they are capable of governing themselves, and that American rule would be neither as good nor as suitable for the Filipinos as their own rule. It is necessary to approach the subject with at least an open mind upon this question of fitness, or, at any rate, it should not be concluded, *a priori*, that the Filipinos are unfit.

With these tentative premises, and leaving out of the question for the moment all acts and utterances which have aroused resentment on both sides, let both parties approach the problem with a determination to be fair.

The Filipinos are, and always have been, prepared to yield, under an understanding as to final independence, all that America can possibly gain by force of arms. In details, the Filipinos are willing to yield to America: (*a*) The right and the means to fulfill all obligations to other nations. (*b*) The right and the means to protect life and property—foreign and native—and to conserve any and every interest possessed in the Philippines. (*c*) The right of American citizens to embark in missionary or educational enterprise if they so desire. (*d*) Bases of trade and military operations for the Far East. (*e*) Coaling stations. (*f*) Repayment of the $20,000,000 paid to Spain, if demanded; and (*g*) trade concessions, or any other reasonable demand not included in the foregoing list.

The yielding of these rights and concessions implies that America would have the right to retain troops in the islands, to demand suitable guarantees from the Filipinos, and to appoint a Customs Commissioner in order to secure the fulfillment of such guarantees. But these implied rights need not be, and ought not to be, made perpetual.

These rights, express and implied, do not necessitate American sovereignty in the Philippines, and they are not incompatible with present partial, and complete final, independence.

As, therefore, the American people do not intend to deny final independence to the Filipinos, and as the Filipinos are ready to yield all that America is demanding or can obtain by force of arms, what is it that is causing a continuance of the war? Is it not abundantly clear that it is due to the fact that the intention of the American people has never been officially expressed? From the time of the cession under the Treaty of Paris, up to the present moment, the Filipinos have never been officially informed, and therefore do not know, what their fate is to be—whether they are to become citizens, subjects, or ciphers. They are required to give up the one inalienable right that God gave to man, and to trust entirely to the will and the benevolence of the President. If this is not imperialism, make the *least* of it!

It is true that the American people do not make this demand, but they have placed in power those who do not make it clear that such is *not* their demand.

Thus, the solution of the problem lies in the official expression of the intentions of the American people with regard to the final independence of the Philippines.

I sincerely hope that the President and Congress will see the wisdom of giving such an expression of policy. One sentence, "It is not the intention of America to exercise permanent jurisdiction, sovereignty, or control over the Philippines," would restore peace, put an end to all this misery and untold sorrow, and save the lives of thousands of Americans and tens of thousands of Filipinos. All details as to the how and when could be arranged by friendly negotiation. The difficulty is not in the arranging, but in the agreeing to arrange. And if the Filipinos finally desired to remain under American rule, as many Americans hope and believe, though personally I do not, they would be at liberty to do so if America also desired it.

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The Rights of Man

A Study in Twentieth Century Problems

By Lyman Abbott

Chapter II.—The Overthrow of Imperialism

PRIMITIVE Christianity transformed Rome from a military empire founded on force into an ecclesiastical empire founded on an idea—the authority and infallibility of the Pope as the vicar of God. For the Germanic races Lutheranism destroyed the authority of ecclesiastical Rome by the declaration that God is in his world and needs no vicar; for the scientific thinker science destroyed the infallibility of Rome by its declaration of the relativity of knowledge. In England, where the progress of liberty was most advanced and best assured, this victory over ecclesiastical imperialism was complete by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Roman imperialism had never truly subjugated the British Isles. Cæsarism withdrew from Great Britain with Cæsar's legions, leaving, as the chief if not the only relics of its occupancy, remains of Roman architecture and Roman roads. It had never taken possession of the life of the people. In the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot, under Alfred the Great, the people were represented as they never had been in imperial Rome, and never were in the imperial government of western Europe. The subjugation of the Anglo-Saxons by the Normans gave unity to the kingdom without destroying the spirit of the people. The barons wrested from King John, in the Magna Charta, concessions which were fatal to absolutism. The common people, under the lead of Simon de Montfort in the reign of Henry the Third, entered the Parliament and began the process which was to make the House of the commoners supreme. If the willfulness of Henry the Eighth was the occasion, the spirit of independence in the people was the cause, of the reformation which separated England from ecclesiastical Rome forever. Bacon, the father of inductive philosophy, was the progenitor of that method of thought which, founding knowledge on experience, is fatal to all ecclesiastical claims of infallibility, and so prepared the way for the more radical if the more practical philosophy of Hume and Locke. Through all these years in England imperialism sat like an uncertain rider on an unbroken horse, and her people were prepared for the final battle more than a century before the people of the Continent of Europe.

Ideas move in the realm of spirit; force in the realm of matter. There are only two ways, therefore, in which a great moral power can overcome a great physical power—by converting it or by inspiring a new physical power to conquer it. The new physical power which the spirit of Lutheranism created, and which gave successful battle to imperialism in England, was Puritanism. Puritanism and imperialism are necessary and mortal foes. Their conceptions of government, industry, education, and religion are absolutely, irreconcilably, hostile. Imperialism derives all its ideas historically from pagan Rome; Puritanism, all its ideas from the Hebraic constitution. "England," says J. R. Green, "became the people of a book, and that book the Bible."[1] From this book they derived not only their religious but also their social and political ideals. In it they found a conception of social equality which is still radical even in this democratic age. "Their common call, their common brotherhood in Christ"—I again quote from J. R. Green—"annihilated in the mind of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social distinctions which characterized the age of Elizabeth. The meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God. The proudest noble recognized a spiritual equality in the poorest 'saint.'" It is the fashion in our time to speak with open scorn or self-complacent though more gentle irony of the Puritans;

[1] "A Short History of the English People," Chapter VIII., § 1.

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yet we imitate the very characteristics in them which we satirize. They were Roundheads; all men now cut the hair short. They discarded the gorgeous colors of the Cavaliers; we all dress in sober grays and blacks. They condemned bull-baiting and dog-fighting, and even pugilistic encounters; our laws are in these respects Puritanical. They forbade the drama; the plays which occupied the stage of Charles II. would not be allowed by public sentiment on the boards of a New York theater for a single night. But they did not believe in religious liberty, in the separation of Church and State, in the rights of the individual conscience as we believe in them. That is, from the doctrine that God is in his world and needs no vicar they had not deduced all the conclusions which their descendants have deduced; but they held this truth firmly and were prepared to follow whithersoever it led them.

In Oliver Cromwell the virtues and the vices of Puritanism were embodied—its broadness of view and its narrowness of sympathy, its tenacity of will and its lack of tenderness, its love of liberty and its spiritual despotism, its moral earnestness and its lack of culture, its strength of conscience and its intolerance, its curious combination of humility and pious self-conceit. In the head of Charles I. were combined the ideas of imperial Rome and ecclesiastical Rome. Stafford represented the first, Laud the second. But Charles I. had neither the power of a Cæsar nor the diplomatic skill of a Pope; in the campaigns between his Cavaliers and the Ironsides of Cromwell the battle between the imperialism of ancient Rome and the fraternalism of the New Judaism was fought out; and in the overthrow of Charles I. Roman imperialism was forever overthrown for England. Neither the brief absolutism of Cromwell, the feeble attempts to re-establish it by Charles II. and James II., nor the yet more feeble attempt to practice it by the Georges, could do anything to stay the progress of that popular revolution which in our century William Ewart Gladstone has conducted to its consummation for England, and which other statesmen after him are to carry on throughout the wider domain of the British Colonial Empire.

On the Continent of Europe imperialism had met with no such stubborn resistance as in Great Britain. It was not dissolved, undermined, or seriously limited; it was simply broken into fragments. In lieu of one great military power were four rival military powers—France, Prussia, Spain, and Austria—and a congeries of smaller powers, not less absolute, in Germany and Italy. Lutheranism had never won a considerable constituency in either Spain or Italy, and though in France the doctrine had been accepted by large numbers of her best citizens, fire, sword, and exile had so effectually driven the Huguenots from the kingdom that as the eighteenth century drew toward its close there was left in that once great empire neither the conscience to resist absolutism in the Church nor the courage to resist absolutism in the State. By far other warriors and by very different weapons both phases of imperialism, the military and the ecclesiastical, received their death-blow in the three Latin countries.

Voltaire neither deserves the encomiums of his friends nor the execrations of his enemies. The best portrait of him in the English language is that furnished by Thomas Carlyle in his famous essay. Voltaire was not a great man, for great men always build, and Voltaire only tore down; he was not a great philosopher, for he left nothing that can be called a philosophy as a legacy to the future; he was not a great poet, for he possessed no true insight. He was an iconoclast in an age and a country whose greatest need was iconoclasm; a destroyer, but a new order could not be built until the old order was destroyed; a cynic and a mocker, but the age needed such to unmask the false pretense which mimicked piety; an unbeliever, but in an epoch when creeds had ceased to be the expression of religion and had become only the instruments of oppression. He had more wit than wisdom, more audacity than courage. He had the cynicism of Mephistopheles, but without his malice; the curiosity of Faust, but without his earnestness. No one who had faith in God could have said, "If there were no God, it would be necessary to invent one;" yet he was not an atheist. No one who had faith in men could have said, "We have never pretended to enlighten shoemakers and servants; the true public is always a minority; the rest

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is vulgar;"[1] yet he was not an aristocrat. He hated falsehood, yet had no love for truth; cowardice, yet was no hero; false pretense, yet ever wore a mask. He did not so much love his fellow-men as scorn their oppressors; he despised the pretentious civilization of his age, yet saw no way to make a better one. But his ridicule did for France what neither the piety of Luther nor the conscience of Cromwell could have done in a country denuded of its devout and independent souls—it destroyed that respect for royalty and that reverence for the priesthood which were the basis of imperialism, military and ecclesiastical. John Morley declares that it was Voltaire's task "to shake the foundation of that religious system which professed to be founded on the revelation of Christ."[2] That task he successfully achieved; nor is it easy even now to see how it could have been so successfully achieved in that time and among that people by a man of a different even though a better temperament.

While Voltaire attacked the bases of absolutism by ridicule, Rousseau, by more subtle yet not less effective methods, attacked it through the sentiments. Absolutism is based on contempt for humanity—by the nobility for the commoner, by the hierarchy for the laity. Voltaire turned the laugh upon the noble and the priest—he leveled down; Rousseau claimed admiration for the commoner and the layman—he leveled up. The one was the cynic, the other the sentimentalist, of the Revolution. It is not possible to take seriously the man who writes beautifully of humanity and leaves his friend in an epileptic fit upon the sidewalk for strangers to take care of; who exalts marriage and lives out of wedlock; who glorifies the natural instincts of humanity and violates the most sacred of them by leaving his five children in a foundling hospital without even making a note by which they could be subsequently identified.[3] Some corollaries deduced from his philosophy remain objects of a not very intelligent admiration in certain circles, but his philosophy concerning man's state of nature and the basis of government as founded upon a social contract is no longer regarded seriously by scholars; nor are his faith in God and faith in immortality, both of which are founded neither on revelation, reason, nor intuition, but merely on sentiment, worthy of a much more serious regard. Nevertheless, his apotheosis of man signalized if it did not produce a new respect for humanity, and initiated if it did not induce a new study of man, and led philosophy to discern in common people qualities which the old philosophy thought were wholly confined to the few. This spirit of Rousseau reappears in more rational forms in the fiction of Dickens and Bret Harte, in the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, and in the theological teaching of Channing and Beecher.

These two forces, respectively represented by Voltaire and Rousseau, prepared the way for the French Revolution. The one destroyed respect for the king and the priest, and simultaneously respect for law and for religion; the other developed self-respect in the commonalty, and, at the same time and by the same process, egregiously fostered self-conceit. The French Revolution was the consequent overturn of society; it put what had been the bottom of society at the top, and what had been the top of society at the bottom. It is not necessary for my purpose in this article to describe either the social and political wrongs which absolutism had inflicted upon France nor the inadequacy of the remedy which the Revolution proffered. I am here but sketching the process which throughout Europe has led to the overthrow of imperialism; and for France it was overthrown by the Revolution of 1789. Out of that Revolution, at once its product and its typical representative, came the last factor in that history of the destruction of imperialism which was a necessary preparation for the recognition and establishment of the rights of men.

Professor W. M. Sloane has described Napoleon Bonaparte as "the embodiment of the Revolution," and no other so brief sentence could more accurately characterize him. It is true that he was an Italian, not a Frenchman; and that his earliest training was Corsican, not French; but it is none the less true that he was a child of the Revolution, that in his person he

[1] Quoted in Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," Volume V., page 314. See the whole passage, pages 309–314.
[2] Voltaire, by John Morley, page 241.
[3] Rousseau, by John Morley, pages 58, 115–126.

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embodied alike its virtues and its defects, that by his genius he carried its influence throughout all western Europe, and that he was not defeated until, on the one hand, he had completed the necessary work of destruction, and, on the other, had proved himself incompetent to lay the foundations of a new order on the ruins of the old.

The French Revolution was the coronation of self-will by a great nation. The law which should restrain, and the Church which should guide, had both failed utterly, hopelessly, irremediably; the pilot was ousted, and the passengers took possession of the vessel and undertook to pilot it without any knowledge of the laws of navigation. There was no one to restrain, no one even to guide the passions of the hour; to-day a triumphant multitude conducted the king into Paris, to-morrow to the guillotine; now it screamed itself hoarse in the glorification of the Goddess of Reason, now in brutal triumph at the execution of her chief priest, Robespierre. Napoleon Bonaparte was an embodiment of this spirit of self-will. His sentiments were sometimes of the noblest, sometimes of the basest; he is alternately a hero and a brigand, a Marcus Aurelius uttering the sentiments of a saint and a Nero doing the deeds of a demon, a lover of liberty and the most imperial Cæsar of European history: but he is always uncontrolled. Various are the forces which operate to restrain men from following too absolutely the impulse of the hour—law, public opinion, conscience, religion. None of these influences did Napoleon know. From the initiation of his Egyptian campaign he knew no law but his own will; he was throughout his life fighting the public opinion of Europe and was the creator of the public opinion of France; conscience he had none; and religion he regarded, not as a power to which he must be subject, but as an instrument which he could use to subjugate others to his will.

Thus, for the fifteen years in which he ruled France, Europe saw an empire in arms dominated by its own self-will, unruled by law, uninfluenced by public opinion, ungoverned by conscience, unrestrained by religion. Yet we can now see, what even such prophetic souls as Edmund Burke could not see at the time, that the great destroyer was completing the work of Luther and Copernicus and Bacon and Cromwell and Voltaire and Rousseau. Luther had destroyed the spiritual authority of ecclesiastical imperialism, Copernicus and Bacon had overthrown its intellectual supremacy, Cromwell had set an example for the rest of Europe to follow in teaching the lesson that kings are the servants, not the masters, of the people, Voltaire and Rousseau had prepared the way for a similar lesson to be taught, not only in France, but, through the power of France, in Italy, Spain, Austria, and Germany. The Napoleonic campaigns completed their work: destroyed imperialism in Spain and with it the Inquisition; in Italy and with it the military support of the temporal power of the Pope; in Austria and so prepared the way for the quasi-emancipation of Hungary; in the German principalities and so made possible the unity of Germany. Constitutional government in Europe dates from the beginning of the present century—that is, from the French Revolution. The State House in Boston and the Capitol in Washington are the oldest buildings in the world occupied by a popular assembly. The English Parliament is older than the American Congress, but the Houses of Parliament are more modern; while the Spanish Cortes, the Italian Parliament, the German Reichstag, the Austro-Hungarian Reichsrath, and the French Parliament are all children of the nineteenth century. When the sword of Napoleon had thus made possible the organization of a new social order, his sword was taken from him; the new imperialism which he had attempted to found on the ruins of the old fell in his fall at Waterloo, and the way was left open for those constructive processes which were carried on under Castelar in Spain, under Cavour in Italy, under Bismarck in Germany, under Gambetta in France.

It is not necessary for my present purpose to do more than recall in the briefest fashion these constructive efforts of the century just closed. Bourbonism was reinstated wherever the Napoleonic era had overthrown it. The Holy Alliance, most unfitly called, aimed not only to re-establish absolutism throughout all Europe, but to reinstate it on this side of the ocean. The miscalled Monroe Doctrine, English, not American, in its origin (for it was suggested by Canning and accepted

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by Monroe), gave a halt to this effort by foreign powers to export imperialism to the American continent. At first success attended the effort in Europe, but the reaction was short-lived. In France the people had been thoroughly awakened out of the sleep of centuries by Napoleon's career, and could not be put to sleep again. Revolution followed revolution. Napoleon III. did, indeed, construct a new Cæsarism out of the ruins of that which his uncle had constructed; but the Bastile could not be rebuilt, nor the spirit of liberty be entirely repressed. The awful and splendid genie of the lamp, released from his imprisonment, refused to return to it again. The self-constituted defender of the Church became, despite himself, the instrument for the overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope in Italy; and when his empire crumbled at Sedan, there were ready a Thiers and a Gambetta to organize a republic, which, in spite of émeutes by Anarchists and Socialists, and in spite of the advocates of the different forms of absolutism, happily fighting among themselves, has grown in wisdom and in strength. If the Church has not been wholly separated from the State, the State is emancipated from the Church, and Protestantism has gained the right to contest the claim of Rome for supremacy in the religious realm. If the schools are not all that a republic needs, they are no longer the means of maintaining unquestioning obedience to the authority of an infallible Church. If the ambition of glory which fifteen years of military ambition kindled throughout France is not wholly laid, the spirit of militarism is not the supreme power it once was, the "man on horseback" is no longer the terror of industrial France, and, if the trial of Dreyfus came short of justice, it successfully asserted the supremacy of the civil over the military authorities.

In Spain as in France, though revolution followed revolution, and every form of government was tried in succession, there was no basis in either a common national spirit nor a popular education for a free commonwealth. The people, still cowed by the domination of an Inquisition, although the Inquisition was destroyed, are a prey to office-holders political and ecclesiastical. The descendants of a nation which equipped the Armada proved at Santiago and Manila how utterly Spain had failed to keep up with the progress of the age; the brief and unequal conflict involved in the recent Spanish-American war is chiefly valuable as an object-lesson of the relative strength and weakness of a nation founded on the school-house and one founded on the Inquisition, the one founded on the right of every man to think for himself, the other on the duty of common men to accept without question the thoughts of their superiors.

The emancipation and unification of Italy has been achieved by spiritual rather than by military forces. The conscience of Europe had been awakened, and when Gladstone in his famous letter protested against the cruelty of imperialism in Italy, it responded as it did not to the no less trenchant appeals of Voltaire a century before. It was thus possible, as before it would not have been possible, for Cavour to make the freedom and unity of Italy a European question and compel the co-operation of the Powers against imperialism in the very source and fountain of its power. When, in 1870, the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope was finally effected, it was effected for all time, and with it the danger of the permanent re-establishment of the old imperialism in either Church or State west of the Russian boundary was forever destroyed.

It is still true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; but it is also true, as it once was not, that all the liberty which they are competent to exercise can be had by any people in western Europe, if they are willing to pay the price. In Germany perhaps more than in any other State there remains something of the spirit and more of the power of the old imperialism. But the unity of Germany has created an organization which is capable of freedom, and the spirit of Luther, though without his religious faith, is slowly but surely possessing the nation. A recent writer in The Outlook has thus briefly characterized the earlier steps in a process not yet completed:

> In 1815 Germany emerged from the Congress of Vienna divided into thirty-nine little States, but in 1815 was born the man who was to weld them into one. Society was then organized on the old patriarchal basis: at the bottom was the peasant; above him was the

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gnädige Herr; above him Unser Allergnädigste Herr, the King, who lived in Berlin or Munich or Dresden; and above him, the Herr Gott in heaven. The statesman who was born in 1815 brought about the third great event of the nineteenth century in Europe, the unification of Germany. Though an aristocrat, he changed a multitude of little States, as Italy had been changed, by the spirit of nationalism, through centralization, towards democracy.[1]

This is not the only case in the history of the world in which one who was essentially an absolutist has pushed forward the cause of human rights and laid foundations for a free State. Hildebrand transforming a political into an ecclesiastical empire; William the Conqueror welding together the fragments of provincial England into one body politic; Napoleon I. overthrowing empires in the name of liberty by a military empire more absolute than they, but destined to fall in pieces because hostile to the interests if not to the suffrages of its citizens; Napoleon III. calling himself Defender of the Church, yet preparing by the victories of Magenta and Solferino for the overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope; Bismarck ruling with the assumed authority of "Herr Gott in heaven," yet making an empire which the free school, free thought, and a free Parliament are sure to make truly free—all furnish signal examples how a Power higher than the highest overrules the rulers, and achieves through their wills the purpose of a Will which they did not themselves understand.

In history each epoch develops silently and gradually out of the preceding epoch, as dawn succeeds the night and day the dawn; but, in so far as any date can ever be given to mark a great transition, it may fairly be said that with the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 the age of conflict between Hebraism and Romanism came to its end, and that henceforth the chief problem of humanity is not how to escape the perils of imperialism, military or ecclesiastical, but, the supremacy of that imperialism having forever passed away, how to solve the problems of life which are given to humanity to solve in the free air of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What those problems are and in what direction we are to look for their solution will be subject of consideration in the future articles of this series.

China Six Months After the Occupation of Peking[2]

By Arthur H. Smith

Special Commissioner for The Outlook in China

IMMEDIATELY after the siege was raised, Peking was divided among the armies of invasion for purposes of patrol and as a base for possible operations elsewhere. The Russians and the Japanese appeared to have the largest number of troops, but as the coming and going was incessant, no accurate statements were possible for more than a day at a time. In about a month it was suddenly announced that the Russian forces were to be withdrawn, and soon after the Russian Legation actually departed for Tientsin, where it remained for a short time and then returned, its lead not being followed by any other Power. It was evident that the occupation of Manchuria was causing a great deal of trouble, and that if other armies could be persuaded to leave Peking at the suggestion of Russia, the latter would gain the credit for doing China a good turn, while at the same time serving her own interests.

For the remaining months, until the end of the year, there was an unceasing series of military expeditions in every direction from Tientsin and from Peking, some of which were on a large scale and fully reported, others, however, attracting little attention. The one which was of the chief interest was that to Paotingfu, starting both from Tientsin and Peking, the intention being to arrive simultaneously. The result illustrates the inherent weakness of a campaign in which eight distinct sets of armies bear a hand. The

[1] The Outlook, July 14, 1900, page 648.

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French from Tientsin arrived just a week before the British, the German, and the Italian contingent, and it was currently reported that they exacted a heavy "ransom" on their own account for sparing the city. Whether this is true it appears impossible to ascertain with certainty. Military operations anywhere are hard to follow and the facts difficult to verify. In this case they are at least eight times as obscure as usual, and some of them do not appear to be objects of knowledge at all.

It was soon perceived that if any one first-class Power had been dealing with China, progress would have been definite and steady. In the case of two Powers, the delays were twice as great and the progress twice as slow. With three Powers the friction was so much increased that the pace was diminished by a still larger percentage; and by the time that all eight armies had to be reckoned with, it becomes a complex and practically insoluble problem whether the decrease of efficiency has been inversely as the square of the number of Powers involved, or as the cube of the number of Major-Generals. At Paotingfu an investigation was held into the behavior of the Provincial Treasurer, Ting-Jung, who had been the patron of the Boxer movement for the whole year, and, as a result of that trial, he was condemned to be beheaded, together with the Tartar General of the city and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the camp, who had refused protection to foreigners, and whose soldiers had stood idly by while the burning of the mission premises and the slaughter of missionaries was in progress. Of all the acts of the military since the capture of Peking, this is the one most righteous in itself and most salutary in its results, yet it has been perversely criticised as a bloodthirsty cry for "vengeance," unworthy of Western nations! The German expedition to Kalgan, four days to the northwest of Peking, was widely known by reason of the accidental suffocation of one of the high military officers by the fumes of charcoal. What it amounted to it would be difficult to say with precision. There was a raid in the direction of the Imperial Tombs for moral effect, and not improbably one to the eastern and another to the western tombs, with results hard to summarize beyond the exasperation of the Chinese and the demoralization of the troops. It is always a delicate matter to keep soldiers under control when in an enemy's country.

The circumstances of the Boxer uprising appear to have convinced the commanders of the armies of invasion that the rules of international law had no application to China at this time. There is, moreover, a contagious demoralization of fighting men when they perceive others acting in a lawless manner. War is itself a repeal of law; and of the extent to which it shall be abrogated the soldiers themselves must to a large extent be judges. If this, or anything like it, is true of the larger expeditions sent out incessantly, it is far more so of those minor raids of which the public knows little or nothing. It would be a gross misrepresentation to affirm that all the commanders or all the soldiers of any section of the allied armies have been lawless and violent, for in that case the results would have been such as are known to have taken place along the banks of the Amur River, where helpless, inoffensive villagers by the thousand were slaughtered and their bodies thrown into the broad stream until it was positively choked with them. In those districts the behavior of the Russians has exceeded the atrocities of the Turks and the Kurds at the other end of the Asiatic continent, and must remain a permanent blot upon the so-called civilization which could permit or condone such acts. But armies, like individuals, will be judged, not by the best, but by the worst which they have done; and in this case the worst must be admitted to have been very bad indeed. There have been times when it has seemed as if the foreign troops had come to northern China for the express purpose of committing within the shortest time as many violations as possible of the sixth, the seventh, and the eighth Commandments. The combined result has been such a state of chaos in many districts as is at once incredible and indescribable. Of the promiscuous murder of non-combatants there is overwhelming evidence, which need not be cited. The only defense of this which is ordinarily made is to reply: "Oh, yes, of course, war is always like that—what do you expect it to be?"

Of the looting and wholesale robbery

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with violence, both in expeditions and in districts which have been visited by small military parties, much has been written, but it will be long before the whole terrible catalogue of crimes is known. Long lists of the exactions made on Chinese officials and cities could be (and have been) made out, showing that the total sums extorted for alleged "protection" and "ransom" are sufficient to impoverish the country for a long period. In some instances the same cities and towns have been visited repeatedly with reduplicated demands; and the fact that the expeditionary "spheres of influence" have been vaguely defined and imperfectly regarded, so that the same city might be raided by different sets of soldiers, has made the condition of large regions more or less anarchic. It is only fair to say that the onus of these crimes is to be mainly laid upon the Russians (until they largely withdrew from Chili), the French, and the Germans, and all Chinese will tell you that those are the troops whom they dread the most. The Indian regiments which have, unfortunately, for the most part represented the British army have also been guilty of flagrant outrages as opportunity offered. The American soldiers have been few in number, and in many instances under much stricter restraint than most others, but it is a depressing fact that among them there have been a few who were equal to anything, and who have given a bad name to the rest. Americans, like other human beings, are powerfully influenced by their surroundings. One of the strictest officers commanding the American forces in China remarked in the hearing of the writer that "my men are completely demoralized," and he was glad to take them away to the Philippines.

Two expeditions should be mentioned which stand out especially as examples of what has been already mentioned, each under the conduct of the Germans. Of these the first was to Ts'angchou, a city about sixty miles south of Tientsin, on the Grand Canal. The Magistrate of the city had always been friendly to the foreigners, who had just removed the station of the London Mission to the vicinity and put up extensive buildings. The Chinese military officer in charge of the Chili troops was General Mei, who was not only on the best of terms with the various foreigners living in that part of the province, but had made it his principal business for the greater part of the past twelve months to fight the Boxers whenever and wherever they could be found, and had probably done more to defeat, disperse, and discourage them than any other man in China. The Germans made a raid upon Ts'angchou, plundered the yamens of the Magistrate and that of General Mei, who prudently retired to a distance upon their approach, and released all the Boxer prisoners whom they found in the city jail, returning to Tientsin in triumph, whence a despatch was sent to Shanghai informing the world of "A Successful Attack," saying that "the Germans have routed General Mei's forces at Ts'angchou. They looted his baggage and killed forty-three men." To those cognizant of the facts this inexcusable folly boded no good for the denizens of such territory as may hereafter come under German rule in Shantung or elsewhere. Is it any wonder that General Mei is said to have complained that "on all eight sides I have no face [self-respect and respect of others] left"? In the district city of Yungch'inghsien, between Tientsin and Peking, and not far from the railway line, Messrs. Norman and Robinson, two Anglican missionaries, were killed early in June. The Germans recently made a visit and killed nearly a hundred and fifty persons, with no loss to themselves, under circumstances so indefensible that the British remitted the monetary fines which had been imposed on the city, and employed the money in relieving the acute distress caused by the barbarity of the Germans! When attention was called to these and numerous similar acts of the Germans, their military authorities were greatly stirred up against Dr. Morrison, the correspondent of the London "Times," who had first formulated the feelings of those acquainted with the facts. The result is supposed to have been, not the threatened "court martial" of Dr. Morrison, who had purposely understated the facts, but the imposition of a certain amount of restraint upon German military action.

The insecurity of property both in Tientsin and in Peking, not to speak of the surrounding districts, has been far in excess of that ever before known. Soldiers have knocked the Chinese drivers

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from their masters' carts and driven them away, time and again, both at dusk and by daylight, and such losses are almost never made good, and are going on still. When referred to the military authorities, they invariably require the designation of the miscreant who has done the deed—a demand, from the nature of the case, impossible to meet. In the most recent case which has come to our notice (a seizure by three Japanese soldiers in Peking of a cart and a valuable mule), the owner is notified by "the Rovost masshal Japanes" that "we received your kind letter, we are waking to find for your shings, but we cant that one yet Will you please send us horse-man, who be seeing matter. So we ask him about that matter, that is best way"—which is probably the last that will be heard of it. In Tientsin the French soldiers have been acting as professional footpads ever since their arrival, until it has become dangerous for a Chinese to be out after dark, as he is likely to lose his money, and not improbably his clothing also. So far as we know, no cases of this sort have been investigated and punished, though the conditions are chronic.

It is not to be expected that the morale of an army will be above the level of that of its officers. It is certain that all the treasures of the Imperial Palaces in and about Peking have not been looted by privates in the army; and when the highest authorities openly pursue a policy of indiscriminate (or even discriminating) pillage, it is an example certain to be followed. The elevated platform upon which for two centuries the beautiful bronze instruments of the Imperial Chinese Observatory have stood is now a wreck, even the iron railings having been broken off and carried away by the Chinese, who have learned by the example of the Germans under Count Waldersee, and of the French, in what way works of antiquity and of art ought to be treated.

It is no wonder that the act of vandalism, in imitation of Napoleonic plundering, by which these relics of the past have been packed up to be sent to European capitals has excited the indignation, not only of the permanent residents of China, but of military officers of other nations, and that it is rightly denounced as a greater disgrace than the burning of the Hanlinyuan by Chinese soldiers, since that was the frenzied act of semi-barbarians from Kansu, and this is deliberately authorized by the highest civilization of the West. With regard to the violation of Chinese women by Western soldiers one dislikes to speak at all, but, since truth compels at least a passing reference to the subject, it is perhaps not an unreasonable estimate that there has been more of this particular crime committed within the past six months in this province than in the same regions for the preceding century.

Of the diplomatic situation in China much more is generally known in Western lands than in China. Phenomenally slow progress was to be expected, since so many irreconcilable interests must be harmonized. It is a well-recognized fact that everything transacted at the meetings of the Ministers is communicated to the Chinese within four and twenty hours. No one makes any charges of double dealing; at the same time it is recollected that there is but one Power the interests of which are essentially distinct from those of all the rest, and which, despite the most flagrant breaches of faith, and breaches of humanity also, contrives to pose as the "Friend of China." The twelve articles of the protocol recently formally signed by the diplomatic body and by the Chinese Commissioners may be said to settle very little except the outline of the area within which the real contention is to take place. The official reply of the Chinese showed their usual assurance, combined with cunning, in striving to explain away and minify every condition which admitted of it, coolly requesting that, if no objections were made to their explanations of the Chinese understanding of the terms, these explanations should be appended to the treaty as a constituent part of it—and this while they artlessly observe that, as required, they have added nothing and taken away nothing! As nothing will probably come of their suggestions, it is superfluous to examine them in detail. Of the terms themselves it may be said that, like all compromises, they suit nobody, and that, as in the days of Captain Cuttle, the bearing of them lies altogether in their application, which is still far below the dip of the horizon. Prince Ch'ing, the Manchu Commissioner, is apparently

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considerably past sixty, with a grave and dignified bearing, which suggests what one hears of the former Minister, Wen-Hsiang, though the Prince is very far from being in any respect the equal of that remarkable man. Li-Hung-Chang is seventy-eight years of age, and so physically feeble that he must at times be supported by four men, and, being partially paralyzed, can barely move his feet a little. Every once in a while he is reported to be "well" again, but he has failed greatly within the past few years, and may drop out altogether at any time.

There is something pathetic in the spectacle of this old man of vast and varied experience, whom few reverence and no one really trusts, sitting at the very edge of the grave with the weight of the interests of four hundred millions of his countrymen upon his shoulders, being also Governor-General of Chili amid great embarrassments. In the art of procrastinating, and in playing off against one another the inharmonious interests of those with whom he must deal, he is a past-master, and it is by no means certain that he will not contrive to tire his opponents out and worry them out till he gets much better terms than at first seemed possible.

It is very depressing to the spirits of those who know something of the Far East, and its real relations to the United States, to note the tone of assured self-complacency with which "American diplomacy" is referred to in the journals, as if it were upon the whole one of the highest products of the time. What is perfectly obvious to the citizens of the United States in China is that the plan of the Government at Washington to withdraw and allow the Chinese themselves to make their own readjustments, under color of preserving the "autonomy of the Chinese," is a very inadequate and a wholly impracticable attempt to shirk the responsibility of our position.

It can scarcely be regarded as other than a misfortune that China happens to be represented in the United States by such a semi-Westernized man as Mr. Wu-Ting-Fang. The fact that he was right about the safety of the Legations, at a time when truth lay in an unusually deep well, that he speaks and writes English with force and precision, and that he is an admirable speaker on all occasions, does not impart the least validity to what he may affirm as to what the Chinese Government will or will not do. Nothing is more probable than that, once the foreign troops are withdrawn, there will ensue in China another tremendous reaction, and one which, in view of some of the facts previously mentioned or suggested, is entirely natural, against everything foreign. Those "guarantees" of which it is so easy to speak, but which in China are so hard to secure under the most favorable circumstances, will then appear as they really are, a mere rope of sand, and unavailing regret will be felt at the loss of a unique opportunity to safeguard our interests in the Chinese Empire, through an unwarranted confidence that the Chinese Government will do what it promises to do.

It is extremely disappointing to those who have the highest interests of China at heart to hear the demand that definite punishment shall be visited upon atrocious crimes characterized as a bloodthirsty desire for "revenge." It is, on the contrary, a recognition of the indisputable and ominous fact that an Oriental interprets Occidental concession of what is, according to Oriental ethics, outside the pale of concession, as fatal weakness, and of that weakness the Oriental will take immediate and fatal advantage, as indeed he is now doing with signal success. The question of the relation of the various Governments to Chinese Christians is one of great difficulty and delicacy, but some rational ground must be taken and held. That was a significant paragraph in the President's Message in which he said: "I regard as one of the essential factors of a durable adjustment, the securement of adequate guarantees for liberty of faith, since insecurity for those natives who may embrace alien creeds is a scarcely less effectual assault upon the rights of foreign worship and teaching than would be direct invasion thereof." If this utterance means what it says, it indicates a policy of protection for native Christians whose right to worship God is guaranteed by the Treaty. For learning and practicing such worship, and for the crime of holding communication with foreigners who teach it, thousands of Chinese have been pillaged of all their worldly goods, their houses burned, and they themselves killed or driven into exile. These people have

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not only been guilty of no crime, but have been the most loyal of Chinese subjects. Justice demands that their property be restored to them, and that some amends be made to them for the fearful outrages to which they have been subjected. Yet we now hear that it is not the policy of the United States Government to interfere between the Chinese Government and its subjects. How this is to be reconciled with the pointed declaration of the President, or with justice and equity, does not appear.

The complaints against Minister Conger in the American papers are altogether unjust, and indicate a failure to understand the real conditions in China which, especially at this juncture, is deplorable. Whatever may be said of the period during which the Boxer movement was in the stage of incubation, ever since it came to a focus Mr. Conger has comprehended the situation clearly. To replace him at this time by any other individual, whoever he might be, would be a calamity.

The condition of the regions which have been the scene of Boxer disturbances varies widely. In some districts there is comparative order and quiet, while in others, particularly in the neighborhood of Peking and Tientsin, there is something not unlike anarchy, owing to the absence of the Chinese rule, and the complete failure of anything foreign to take its place. In Tientsin there is a "Provisional Government," of functions miscellaneous and undefined, which has been the center and the life of the civil rule. Nothing of the sort was set up in Peking, where everything is entirely military. Paotingfu, T'ungchou, and Shanhaikuan are also under military dictators, with varying results. But everywhere there is a great contraction of the means of dealing with crime, and such means as exist are inadequate and unsatisfactory. Civil cases are for the most part entirely in abeyance.

If it were possible to co-ordinate and tabulate the experiences of the past six months in this province, there is reason to think that we should have a most impressive object-lesson on the failure of foreigners in using foreign methods to rule the Chinese, and a most useful hint as to what would ensue should any Power undertake to govern China, or any part of it, in any other than a Chinese way. Many of the district magistrates have been frightened away by foreign troops, and others have been snubbed, fined severely, imprisoned, and sometimes, like the Fu Magistrate of Shanhaikuan, carried away altogether (in his case to the now Russian fortress of Port Arthur). Such conduct tends to bring all government into contempt, and it is not surprising to hear that the country is overrun with brigands. Immediately about the foreign centers there is an air of great prosperity, due to the active circulation of silver pieces and the demand for laborers. But, taking the province throughout, there must be acute suffering everywhere, due to the strangulation of the ordinary channels of human activity and means of sustenance. The number of beggars in the cities of Peking and Tientsin is, indeed, greatly diminished, but people formerly well-to-do are now in many cases scarcely able to keep themselves alive.

Chinese Christians of all descriptions are still suffering misery the most acute. Around the military centers there has been a certain amount of indemnity collected, so that the Christians are to be reimbursed for their monetary losses, and in some cases provision is made on an equitable scale for the widows and orphans of those who have been massacred. But this is exceptional. A Presbyterian missionary informed the writer that in a district near to Peking there was a sum equal to about five thousand Mexican dollars waiting to be paid to him as indemnity for his Christians, which could be collected only by himself. The American military authorities in Peking would neither give him a guard to his station to complete this important business, nor suffer him to go without a guard, so that there is danger of losing the whole. For in the indemnity business it is necessary to strike while the iron is hot. The payment is offered largely with a view to protection from foreign troops. After it has all been arranged, an irregular raid of soldiers of some other flag may spoil the whole plan and make new troubles where there were already more than enough.

Reports are constantly coming in from remoter fields of a recrudescence of Boxer activity; and while there may be no gatherings in large number, nothing

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has occurred to remove the causes of antipathy, and much has occurred to inflame and exacerbate them. From Shansi and Shensi there are tales of horrible suffering. In some districts there is relief given by the local officials to all Christians indiscriminately, and then the temptation to abuse their privileges is often too strong for poor human nature. The same has frequently been the case where the revolution of the wheel of fortune enabled the Christians to prosecute those who had persecuted them with such relentless fury. Among the Roman Catholics especially there have been cases of flagrant blackmail levied against villages alleged to contain Boxers, and when the foreign troops happened to be moved elsewhere, these same "Boxer" villages turned and rent the Christians. The behavior of many of the latter under circumstances of great trial has often been an honor to the Christian name. When the stories are collected in full, they will make an important addition to the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. Such a collection cannot occur for a long time yet. The prospect of a return to their fields of those missionaries who work in the deeper interior seems more remote than it did some months ago. It is such a time of testing and sifting as seldom comes to any Church in any land. We cannot doubt that out of it there will arise a new Church of God in China, purified by fire, and enriched by the memories of the past and by the hopes and certainties of the future.

Tientsin, February 15, 1901.

Booker Washington and Tuskegee

A Southerner's View

[Readers of Mr. Washington's Autobiography, which was recently concluded in the columns of The Outlook, will be especially interested in the following article, which we reprint from the columns of "Harper's Weekly," with the special permission of the conductors of that journal. It is of importance not only on account of the interesting way in which the views of its author are expressed, but because it confirms the view often set forth by Mr. Washington—namely, that the Southern white man is the one whose friendship and respect the negro most needs to win, and that he can win them by making himself a useful citizen. The race problem in the South is a very intricate and serious one. It cannot be solved without much study and deliberation, but the lines of work along which its solution is to be achieved are clearly indicated by the career and influence of Mr. Washington.—THE EDITORS.]

ABOUT a month ago I went to Tuskegee, Alabama, to "size up" Booker T. Washington's school. I am not a philanthropist. My associates and I wanted to know what kind of workers Mr. Washington is turning out, for business reasons.

Since the Civil War a great deal of money has been squandered on the education of the negro by excellent people throughout the North, whose benevolence was only exceeded by their ignorance of conditions South.

That particular brand of education did not better the condition of the mass of its recipients. They were not fitted to compete in the occupations that require book-learning, and they had grown to despise what they might have done well. They fell between two stools, and swelled the list of idlers and criminals. I shall not discuss Mr. Washington's work at length. All the world knows about that. I did not see anybody studying Latin or Greek, but I saw carpenters and blacksmiths and brickmasons and farmers and tailors and barbers learning to work by working. Twenty-eight industries are taught. The students built thirty-eight of the forty-two buildings on the grounds, and they made the brick. Most of the students work their way through school. The graduate has a trade and a common-school education.

My conclusion was that, whether those students attain a high degree of skill in their several lines or not, with the habits of thrift, industry, and right living they acquire there the percentage who fail to make useful citizens will be exceedingly small.

But the point of special interest to me was the attitude of the white people in the vicinity of the school. In order that you may get my point of view, I will say I was born and brought up not far from Tuskegee. My father was a slaveholder,

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my grandfather was a slaveholder, his father was a slaveholder, and I was *probably* a slaveholder—that is, a black boy was born on our place on the same day that I was, December 30, 1864, and by custom was considered my property. The Emancipation Proclamation had been issued, but I believe the lawyers now agree that the legal title to the black boy was perfect at that time. He and I have never quarreled about that.

For those of your readers who have not lived South, it will be hard to realize the significance of the little word *mister* down there. Mr. carries with it recognition of social equality, and the Southern white man does not use it in addressing a colored man. He will even claim relationship with the colored man to avoid Mr. "Uncle" and "aunt" are common, and I know hundreds of Southern white men of high standing who will affectionately call a black woman "mammy," but would feel disgraced if they had said "Mrs."

Prominent citizens of Tuskegee were telling me about Mr. Washington and the school. All spoke in terms of highest praise. I asked what they called the principal and members of the faculty when they met them. This question was distinctly embarrassing. One man said he did not "call" them—just said "good-morning." "But," I insisted, "why do you dodge? If you can't say Mr., why don't you say Bill, or John, or Booker?"

With an air of "taking the bull by the horns," a bluff old gentleman said: "Well, I'll tell you how I feel about that. I've known Washington and the school from the start—about twenty years. I probably know as much about him as anybody, and all I know is good. In my opinion, he has the best school in the country, white or black. At most of our white colleges, as far as I can see, a big percentage of the boys spend their time learning how to wear their hair long, and play football, and smoke cigarettes, and spend their daddies' money. We don't have any such foolishness here. They are all busy doing useful work. Both teachers and students are orderly and well-behaved. They don't try to make white people get off the sidewalk, and they get more of the sidewalk than those who do try. We have never had a case from there in our police court. They go right to work and make an honest living when they leave the school. Now when I meet the man who has done all this, I can't call him 'Booker,' like I would an ordinary nigger, but, *thunder!* I can't call a nigger 'Mr.,' so I just say 'Professor.'"

Habit and tradition still forbid the use of the word, but Mr. Washington has caused those Southern white men to *feel* Mr. The Northern white man would have glibly said Mr. from the first, but the Northern white man doesn't know what it is to *feel* Mr. in the Southern sense. The next generation will have no trouble with the word if the feeling spreads.

When President McKinley was about to visit Tuskegee a year or so ago, the local reception committee, composed largely of white Democrats, arranged for Mr. Washington and the Governor of Alabama to ride in the carriage with the President. It was reported that the Governor had said he would not ride with a nigger. This was not true, but it was believed in Tuskegee at the time, and there was considerable feeling about it among the whites. The committee consulted Mr. Washington, and he urged that the matter be arranged with an eye to harmony, regardless of himself; he gave the committee to understand that it was not essential to his happiness to ride in that carriage; he did not assert any rights; he did not claim any privileges. The committee realized that Mr. Washington was neither plaintiff nor defendent; that the matter was "up to" the committee. Those people down there average high in generosity and sense of justice. Here was the President of the United States coming to their town to visit the leading institution of the town and its principal; and, solely on account of his race, this man, whose character was above reproach, was to be denied an honor to which he was clearly entitled. They decided it would be an outrage. There was a meeting, and, after serious discussion, it was declared to be the sense of the meeting that Mr. Washington should ride with the President; that the Governor should also be invited to ride in that carriage, but if he didn't see fit to do so, he might ride in another carriage, or go to the devil, at his discretion.

Just before leaving Tuskegee, I had the pleasure of sitting around a fireside with

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a roomful of good white citizens. I told them Professor Washington had shown me many courtesies since I had been in Tuskegee, and that I expected to see him in Chicago soon; that I wanted to know from them—all Southern white men—how I, a Southern white man, should treat Professor Washington. One man suggested I should take him out and show him the stock-yards; another proposed the theater; another a dinner at a restaurant. A middle-aged man, a deacon in one of the leading churches of Tuskegee, said: "I respect Washington, but I don't ask him to my house here, nor even to our church, but this is on account of conditions over which neither he nor I have control. If I were in your place, living in Chicago, I would take him to my house, and seat him at table with my family, and give him the best I had." After the ice was broken, the others present unanimously assented to this.

I shall neither attack nor defend the social attitude of the Southern white man toward the colored man, but let me emphasize a fact: Mr. Washington has already accomplished what all the books, all the oratory, all the incendiary talk, martial law, civil-rights bills, amendments to the Constitution, have not done and never will do.

He has not carried a chip on his shoulder. He has not made a specialty of waving a red rag at every bull he chanced to meet. By the gentle methods of Jesus, Booker T. Washington has succeeded where Cæsar would have failed.

Some Recent Verse

THREE volumes of verse now stand to the credit of Mr. Stephen Phillips, and they contain the most important recent work in poetry in England. Mr. Phillips's rank is still, however, a matter of uncertainty; it is too early to determine it. He is a young man, and, while his period of apprenticeship is plainly past, his creative energy and his productiveness are, it is to be hoped, largely in the future. The one quality of his verse which seems to suggest limitation is its maturity; there is an absence of that exuberance of fancy and excess of imagery which, as a rule, mark the early verse of poets of rich imagination; the qualities which are found in excess, for instance, in the apprentice work of Keats and Tennyson. From the beginning Mr. Phillips has shown unusual restraint and power of concentration; the outlines of his thought have been clear and his touch has been sure. These qualities may indicate that early maturing of the nature which, as a rule, indicates genius of a secondary order; or they may mark an individuality of unusual force; it is too early to form a judgment on this point.

Mr. Phillips has already shown some signs of greatness. He takes his art with high seriousness; the timidity of a critical period has not deterred him from the deep reverence for his calling which has dominated the great poets. His mood is profoundly serious; he has dealt with great themes; and he has used the dramatic form. From "Marpessa," with its tender and profoundly beautiful interpretation of the divine and the human in fundamental contrast, to "Herod," the poet has paid his art and his opportunity the respect with which a fine mind always employs a great gift and appeals to a noble audience. Dramatic poetry of a high order has become so rare that it must be very difficult to write; things easily done are done by a multitude. Whatever may be the defects of "Paola and Francesca" and "Herod" as acting plays, they are full of distinction as literature; deeply poetic in conception, well constructed as dramas, and written in a blank verse full of melody, with those occasional felicities which are the inspirations of true poets and beyond the reach of all to whom nature has denied the ultimate gift of genius. "Herod"[1] lacks the romantic interest of Mr. Phillips's earlier play; it lacks its variety and its humor; but it has deeper elements of tragedy; it is stamped throughout with the same nobility, the same command of a difficult literary form. The story is an old one, but it lives again in the beautiful interpretation of a poet who feels its pathos and intuitively takes that which is significant and, by the difficult

[1] *Herod: A Tragedy.* By Stephen Phillips. John Lane, New York.

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art of rejection, which is quite as much the necessity of the artist as the faculty of invention, brings before the mind a transparently clear movement of human life interpreted from the standpoint of art. "Herod" is not a poetic finality; Mr. Phillips must go still further in his power of penetrating human motives and revealing them in the speech of art; but his achievement has enriched our time by its seriousness, its sincerity, and its beauty; and his promise gives ground for the hope that the elements of greatness are maturing in his nature.

Never before in the history of this country has there been so much good verse written as at present—verse which is sound in feeling and in form. There are so many experimenters in the field that there is rational ground for the hope that we are on the eve of another movement of imagination which shall bear fruit in noble and significant work. The country is full of prelusive songs, like the tuning of many instruments. Something stirs in the heart of the Nation which seems like the first faint awakening out of the slumber of the past two decades. It may be that it is a false dawn which these singers are bringing in; it may be that a new day is at hand.

Since the going of Whitman there have been few new notes in our verse, but there has been an increasing company of verse-makers of delicate instinct, high aims, and good workmanship. Mr. Lloyd Mifflin has given us four volumes of charming work, in which one hears echoes of the classic ages mixed with fresh notes of our own times. There is no more refined and fastidious singer in America than the author of "The Fields of Dawn," [1] a collection of sonnets of which it is high praise to say that they are interesting throughout. As a rule, the sonneteer is correct and imitative; it is not often that one comes upon a new sonnet which stirs with life. Mr. Mifflin has studied the sonnet form and learned to use it with ease and individuality of touch. In "The Slopes of Helicon" and "Echoes of Greek Idyls" he recalled a music of which the lovers of poetry for its own sake will never tire; in "The Fields of Dawn" he touches his flute with no uncertain or unskilled fingers. He is not likely to be widely read, for he reflects the moods of the cultivated imagination rather than the universal experiences in which all men have a part. This is the limitation of his work; it is serious, delicate, and beautiful; but it is for the delight of the few rather than the joy of the many.

This is also true of Mrs. James T. Fields's "Orpheus" [1]—a poem cast in the form of a dramatic masque. This rendering of a familiar story from classical fable bears throughout the signs of the delicate and tender poetic quality which still send many readers, after years of familiarity, back to "Under the Olive"—a collection of verse notable, like its immediate successor, "The Singing Shepherd and Other Poems," for feeling for nature, faculty for description, and a certain elusive but winning quality of imagination. "Orpheus" shows no lack of these qualities. It is the work of a woman who not only knows the best, but has her own grace of speech. It is, however, a poetical exercise of charming quality rather than a fresh putting forth of the creative imagination; it also is for the few, not for the many.

Mr. William Vaughn Moody has done work which awakens the hope that there is in him the making of a singer of original insight and power. Three poems from his hand which have appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" have struck deep notes and have had the resonance of real poetry—the poetry which comes from the imagination, touched with passion, and goes to the heart of the reader. These pieces of verse have risen above the level of accomplished versification; they have been characterized by the spiritual energy, the passionate fervor, and the dignity of real literature. They are full of virility, and have the concreteness of great verse. What Mr. Moody has done twice he can and will do again, but "The Masque of Judgment" [2] will not advance his reputation. Like the volumes already commented on, it shows the accomplished versifier rather that the poet thinking "the thoughts of the wise in the language of the simple." The treatment is too elaborate, and, as in the case of Mr. Santayana's "Lucifer,"

[1] *The Fields of Dawn.* By Lloyd Mifflin. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

[1] *Orpheus: A Masque.* By Mrs. James T. Fields. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

[2] *The Masque of Judgment: A Masque-Drama in Five Acts and a Prelude.* By William Vaughn Moody. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

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it is beyond the present strength of the poet. Later he may deal with the problem of evil with mystical insight and artistic lucidity; but that time has not yet come. This modern masque-drama has dignity, even nobility; it is the work of a man who has set the highest standards before himself; many things may be said in commendation of its thought and form; but it remains, at the end, a striking poetic experiment and not a first-hand interpretation of the most baffling of mysteries. Mr. Moody has thrilled his readers when he touched the life of his time; let him absorb that life in order that he may speak again out of its depths. "The Masque of Judgment," notwithstanding its fine intellectual quality and breadth of conception, is too academic to inspire the imagination or to give joy to the spirit.

In "Songs of Two"[1] Mr. Arthur Sherburne Hardy gives fresh illustration of the delicacy of imagination and the refinement of feeling which gave his novels a pervasive beauty, notwithstanding obvious defects of construction. In this thin volume there is condensed a great deal of deep feeling and genuine sentiment, and the product, while it cannot be regarded as poetry of unusual force, has great charm. There is no trace of the commonplace in it; no fumbling with conventional phrases; there is, rather, a fresh note of pure feeling. A single verse will serve as an example of Mr. Hardy's happy fusion of sentiment and imagery:

A little moment at the end
Of day, left over in the candle-light
On the shore of dreams, on the edge of sleep,
Too small to throw away,
Too poor to keep!
But it holds two words for thee, dear Friend,—
Good-night, Good-night!
And so this little remnant of the day,
Left over in the candle-light
On the shore of dreams, on the edge of sleep,
Becomes too great to throw away,
Too dear to keep!

The collaboration of Bliss Carman and Richard Hovey bore its final fruit in "Last Songs from Vagabondia."[2] The three slender books in which these poems have appeared have been notable for a breeziness of note and an unconventional freedom not only refreshing in themselves, but full of promise of better things to come. For Bohemia, however attractive as a place of temporary refuge, is never a country of final achievements; it is, at the best, a point of departure. Mr. Hovey's early and lamented death leaves Mr. Carman free to follow his own bent. Of the two singers Mr. Hovey was the more fluent but Mr. Carman is the more original. Indeed, among the younger poets no one has a native gift for song of truer quality. His work is very uneven, and marred at times by carelessness, but it is full of unexpected charm, of those happy inspirations which come only to the born poet, of that shaping imagination which plays like light through the work of the born singer. Mr. Carman has written haunting, captivating poems; he has more than once given evidence of the possession of imagination as a constructive as well as an irradiating quality; he has given a pledge of greater work than he has yet done. In this volume there are many characteristic examples of his spontaneous, elusive, fascinating quality; it also contains verses with the true touch of Vagabondia in them:

It was the little leaves beside the road.

Said Grass, "What is that sound
So dismally profound,
That detonates and desolates the air?"
"That is St. Peter's bell,"
Said rain-wise Pimpernel;
"He is music to the godly,
Though to us he sounds so oddly,
And he terrifies the faithful unto prayer."

Then something like a very groan
Escaped the naughty little leaves.

Said Grass, "And whither track
These creatures all in black,
So woebegone and penitent and meek?"
"They're mortals bound for church,"
Said the little Silver Birch;
"They hope to get to heaven
And have their sins forgiven,
If they talk to God about it once a week."

And something very like a smile
Ran through the naughty little leaves.

Said Grass, "What is that noise
That startles and destroys
Our blessed summer brooding when we're tired?"
"That's folks a-praising God,"
Said the tough old cynic Clod;
"They do it every Sunday,
They'll be all right on Monday;
It's just a little habit they've acquired."

And laughter spread among the little leaves.

It is the note of the Southern temperament which one hears in Mr. Walter

[1] *Songs of Two.* By Arthur Sherburne Hardy. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
[2] *Last Songs from Vagabondia.* By Bliss Carman and Richard Hovey. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

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Malone's "Songs of the North and South"[1]—the same note which sounds in the verse of another Kentucky poet, Mr. Madison Cawein. The singer with this temperament has a richer lyrical quality than his Northern compeer; he has less reticence, less restraint, more color and ease. His faults are excess or extravagance of phrase, and a reliance on his genius which makes him indifferent to that rigorous pruning which goes before complete mastery of every form of expression. Mr. Malone is a natural poet; one who takes to verse because it is his element. He sings without premeditation, with full voice and entire ease. His range is not great, and he is at his best when he is dealing with Nature or with intimate experience. The richness of the Southern landscape reveals itself in his verse through the glow of his own temperament. A single verse will illustrate the mellifluous quality which has been hinted at:

From lemon orchards, starred with blooms,
And bending low with fragrant fruit,
Soft odors haunt the purple glooms
Like whispers of a lover's lute.
I wait alone
For you, for you, my own,
With love more spirit-like and sweet
Than all the fragile blossoms that I scatter at
your feet.

In his slender volume, "The Ballad of Manila Bay, and Other Verses,"[2] Mr. Horace Spencer Fiske has combined three very distinct groups of poems—a group inspired by incidents in the Spanish-American war and suggested by the title, a group of college verses, and a group of sonnets chiefly reminiscent of places and persons dear to the literary consciousness. This is, we believe, a first book, and ought to be judged as an experiment. Looking at it from this point of view, and taking account of the promising qualities in it, the collection shows poetic sensibility, good taste, excellent sense of form reinforced by training, and a glow of fine feeling which makes it easy for the poet to interpret high qualities, great careers, and sacred places with true insight and sympathy.

Mrs. Julia C. R. Dorr has known for many years the secret of tender, sympathetic verse-writing, full of feeling, entirely sincere, and with the appeal which a heartfelt expression of human experience always carries with it. Her hand shows no loss of skill and her imagination no fading of that glow which is the life of poetry. "Afterglow"[1] can hardly be read impersonally; it is essentially a book of the heart.

In an entirely different vein is "Poems Lyrical and Dramatic,"[2] by Sara King Wiley, a first venture in this field. The hand of the writer is not yet sure, but it has put the stamp of distinction on a few poems full of charm and freshness. Such verse as the lines on "The Faun," "Proserpina," and Corot's "Orpheus," the latter two appearing first in the columns of The Outlook, give evidence of a true gift, so clearly do they reveal the writer's sensitiveness to poetic meanings and the delicate skill with which her faculty responds to her insight. She has deep feeling for nature, and is at her best when she touches nature either in its beautiful aspects or its deeper significance. The book discloses a mind quickly responsive to beauty and keenly alive to the wonder of the world.

The book of "Poems"[3] by Frances Louisa Bushnell brings to remembrance one of those rare women whose personalities have a luminous quality, as if the vesture of mortality were irradiated by the spirit within. The touch of inspiration was on her nature as it had been on that of her father, in whom there was a harmonization of intellectual power and spiritual insight quite beyond the reach of any other American in his own field. Miss Bushnell was more concerned with the beautiful ordering of her own life than with popular recognition. She had quick intuitions, spiritual insight and imagination, and words had for her, as for her father, the reality of living things. In a brief note of introduction to this volume Mr. Charles Dudley Warner comments on Miss Bushnell's alertness, vivacity, and grace of mind—qualities which were held in beautiful poise by her justness and clearness of vision. Add to these generous gifts of nature a deeply religious

[1] *Songs of the North and South.* By Walter Malone. J. P. Morton & Co., Louiseville.
[2] *The Ballad of Manila Bay, and Other Verses.* By Horace Spencer Fiske. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

[1] *Afterglow: Later Poems.* By Julia C. R. Dorr. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
[2] *Poems Lyrical and Dramatic: Cromwell; A Play.* By Sara King Wiley. George H. Richmond, New York.
[3] *Poems.* By Frances Louisa Bushnell. Privately printed.

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spirit and Miss Bushnell's hold upon her friends and upon the city which she loved so well is not difficult to understand. If further explanation of the love and admiration she evoked is sought, it will be found in this volume, from which a single example is sufficient—a characteristic poem entitled "Unfulfillment:"

Ah, June is here, but where is May?—
That lovely, shadowy thing,
Fair promiser of fairer day,
That made my fancy stretch her wing,
In hope-begetting spring.

The spaces vague, the luminous veil,
The drift of bloom and scent,
Those dreamy longings setting sail,
That knew not, asked not, where they went—
Ah! was this all they meant,—

This day that lets me dream no more,
This bright, unshadowed round?
On some illimitable shore,
The harbor whither those were bound
Lieth, nor yet is found.

Mr. Richard E. Burton is a very successful teacher of literature in the University of Minnesota, where his freshness, insight, and marked individuality have awakened not only interest but enthusiasm in his department. He has shown originality and force both in prose and verse, but it is in verse that one gets the full flavor of his personality. He is a trained man entirely familiar with academic traditions but entirely untrammeled by them. There is nothing conventional in his thought or his work; he speaks with simple sincerity from a nature which has a delightful out-of-doors breeziness and buoyancy. There is an edge on his thought and a tang in his style; he is often homely and blunt with a kind of rustic honesty, as if he cared more for the truth than for the established highways of approach to it; he shows at times a disregard of forms, as if he were eager to get to the heart of his subject and of his reader. Honesty, veracity, and frankness pervade his work, and give it marked ethical quality without making it didactic. At his best Mr. Burton writes with a sincerity and vigor which make a very definite impression on the mind of his reader. His latest volume, "Lyrics of Brotherhood,"[1] is full of flavor; the freshness of the fields is in it, and the pungency of woodland odors when frosts are abroad.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

Academic Algebra. By William J. Milne, Ph.D., LL.D. The American Book Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 444 pages. $1.25.

This is an addition to a series of mathematical text-books prepared by Dr. Milne, widely used in our schools. It meets the requirements of the entrance examinations of all colleges and universities. The natural method of mathematical teaching has been followed, the student being led to make the proper inferences, to express these inferences briefly and correctly, and to prove their truth by the method of deductive reasoning. The examples are numerous, and so graded that the more difficult ones may be omitted if desired, thus furnishing a briefer and easier course at the option of the teacher.

Australasia the Commonwealth, and New Zealand. By Arthur W. Jose. (The Temple Primers.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 164 pages. 40c.

This "cyclopædic primer," as it is called, is much more cyclopædic than primer-like in its structure. It covers the whole field of Australasian affairs within the compass of a primer, but it presents everything in miniature, as befits a reference-book, instead of presenting the main outlines in high relief, as befits the primer. Nevertheless, it is a very useful book for those of us who are better informed about present experiments in Australasia than about the historical conditions out of which they have developed.

Aes Triplex. By Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×7¼ in. 26 pages. 50c.

A reprint of one of Stevenson's most characteristic papers in a form which will delight all lovers of Stevenson and of good printing.

Caroline Cavalier (A). By George Cary Eggleston. Illustrated. The Lothrop Publishing Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 448 pages. $1.50.

A very breezy, pleasantly written story of life and adventure on the Southern coast in the heart of the Revolutionary period, with sufficient plot to sustain the interest, and with a good, healthy, out-of-door dramatic movement.

Child (The): His Nature and Nurture. By W. B. Drummond, M.B., C.M., M.R.C.P.E. (The Temple Primers.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 148 pages. 40c.

[1] *Lyrics of Brotherhood.* By Richard E. Burton. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

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Crimson Weed (The). By Christopher St. John. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 335 pages. $1.50.

This realistic story affords glimpses of certain phases of Italian and English society. In plot, character-drawing, and style it challenges equal interest. It is much above the average novel, but it is not a great novel.

Death—and Afterwards. By Sir Edwin Arnold, M.A., K.C.I.E. The New Amsterdam Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 65 pages. 75c.

An elegant reprint of a well-known, profoundly suggestive, and exquisitely written book.

Dwellers in the Hills. By Melville Davisson Post. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 278 pages. $1.25.

Who does not love a horse? Here is a story chiefly about horses, but not a little about scenery. It will doubtless receive the wide reading it deserves. The author's vigorous style well reflects a man's mature but always ardent passion for nature. Mr. Post's virile, terse, clean-cut sentences are, with appropriateness, printed clearly; thus both publishers and author are to be congratulated on the appearance of this attractive book.

Essays. First Series and Second Series. 2 vols. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 50c. per vol.

Nothing need be said concerning the reappearance of these early classics of American writing; they cannot be given to the world in too many forms. The Temple Library is a most convenient and agreeable form.

Fanatics (The). By Paul Laurence Dunbar. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 312 pages. $1.50.

The terrible division of family and friendly circles by the war of secession is strongly brought out here. The scene is southern Ohio at the outbreak of the war. Fanatics on both sides were plentiful at that time and place, and, fictionally speaking, Mr. Dunbar makes good use of the material thus suggested. Is he not in error (to note a very minor point) in making his characters constantly use the word "Copperhead" in the very first month of the war? And is it not an anachronism to have Mr. Vallandigham hanged in effigy about the same time?

Felix Reville Brunot, 1820–98. By Charles Lewis Slattery. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 304 pages.

We doubt if there is any more useful book than the biography of a business man who is not only enterprising in material affairs but also thoroughly public-spirited and genuinely Christian. Such a man was Mr. Brunot, of Pittsburg. As a member of the Christian Commission he served to the point almost of death in the Civil War. As a member of the Episcopal General Convention in 1862 he led in the long struggle which ended in pledging the Church to the support of the National cause. He was one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society, and the leading member of the Board of Indian Commissioners appointed by President Grant. From his work among the Indians and at Washington dates the great reform of sentiment and administration in our relations with the aborigines. At Pittsburg he led the way in the public library movement, supported by Mr. Carnegie, who has won fame by following his example. In these and other good works he became the first citizen of Pittsburg. The volume which portrays his character and his beneficence should endear his memory both in the State and in the Church.

For His Sake: Thoughts for Easter Day and Every Day. Edited by Anna E. Mack. Lee & Shepard, Boston. 5¼×8 in. 122 pages. $1.

An attractive volume of "Thoughts for Easter Day and Every Day," compiled from the prose and verse of English and American literature, the sentiment of the whole centering on the great truth of immortality and the great moral implications which flow out of it.

George Eliot's Works. (The Personal Edition.) Vol. I. **Adam Bede.** Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 557 pages. $1.50.

The first volume of a commendable library edition, with plain substantial covers, fair type and paper, and of a moderate price. Miss Esther Wood furnishes a brief introduction telling how and why "Adam Bede" was written, and similar introductory studies will accompany all the volumes. Despite the constant clamor about immense sales of new novels by new authors, it may well be doubted if a single work of fiction produced in the last five years will forty years hence have one reader where "Adam Bede" after that lapse of time now has twenty.

German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch. By Oscar Kuhns. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5¼×7¾ in. 268 pages. $1.50.

An uncommonly strong defense of the Pennsylvania Dutch. All that is best in their history is compressed into this little volume, and even their defenders will be surprised to learn how much romance there is in the story of their sufferings in the Palatinate, and how much spiritual exaltation there was back of their emigration to America. The author justly compares the German Anabaptists and Mennonites with the English Baptists and Quakers, the former having the same relation to the Reformed (Calvinistic) churches of Germany that the latter had to Presbyterian churches in England, and the Reformed churches in their turn having the same relation to the Lutheran churches in Germany that the Presbyterian churches had to the Episcopal churches in England. The Protestant movement thus went through exactly the same stages on the Continent as in England, and the elements in Germany and Switzerland which supplied the first German emigration to Pennsylvania were spiritually identical with those in England which supplied the first English emigration to that State. The author's account of the religious faith and feeling of the German Quakers is written with great sympathy and insight, and his apology for the deep-seated conservatism of the Pennsylvania Dutch is skillfully made.

God's Puppets: A Story of Old New York. By Imogen Clark. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. $1.50.

There is serious effort in this study of the days when English power was new and Dutch jeal-

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ousy was still strong in the just renamed New York. The book has knowledge; it has considerable depth of character analysis; it has not a few other good qualities; yet it fails to catch and hold the reader's mind strongly because it lacks vividness, vivacity, sharpness of outline, briskness of action. Many of the minor novels of the past season have left the impression of hurry and scant work; this, on the contrary, leaves one feeling that the author has labored too much over her task, so that the minuteness of her methods has resulted in a rather dreary tone.

Hamlet: A Tragedy. By William Shakespeare. (The E. H. Sothern Acting Version.) McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 136 pages. 50c.

Mr. Sothern's acting edition of "Hamlet" has been brought out in fine paper, print, and binding—an excellent example of book-making.

Histoire de l'Université de Genève. By Charles Borgeaud. Illustrated. Georg & Co., Librairie de l'Université, Geneva, Switzerland. 9½×13 in. 664 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

History of the Four Georges and of William IV. By Justin McCarthy and Justin Huntly McCarthy. (In 4 vols.) Harper & Bros., New York. Vols. III. and IV. 5×8 in. Per vol., $1.25.

Reserved for notice later.

Hypnotism and Suggestion in Therapeutics, Education, and Reform. By R. Osgood Mason, A.M., M.D. Henry Holt & Co. 5×7½ in. 344 pages. $1.50.

In popular form this book presents what the author believes to be the well-ascertained facts about the use of hypnotism for curative purposes. We need hardly say that the medical profession and the teachers of psychology are by no means united in their views on this subject, and that hypnotism in therapeutics is a subject still in its tentative stages. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the points in doubt or offer positive dicta on the subject. The author believes that the use and ethics of hypnotism are "undergoing the closest scrutiny, and that they are both thriving under the ordeal; prejudice is being dispelled by enlightenment; intelligent, active workers among reputable and eminent physicians are being added to the number of its adherents." The lay mind may, perhaps, be allowed to await something like harmony in the professional mind before venturing to accept all of Dr. Mason's beliefs as scientific verities.

Inkognito. By Baldwin Groller. **Cand. Phil. Lauschmann.** By P. Albersdorf. Edited by Max Lentz. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 118 pages. 30c.

Inlander (The). By Harrison Robertson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 320 pages. $1.50.

Mr. Robertson writes of Kentucky life, both country and city, with freshness, humor, and vigor. His men characters here are manly and genuine, and one of his women has charm and grace. The other of the women characters is stagy and a creature of straw at best. Her jilting of her lover on the eve of marriage, with the calm proposal that he shall wait until the vulgar cad whom she has decided to marry for his money shall be dead of the heart disease she knows to exist, is not convincing and is an awkward and disagreeable *tour de force*. Mr. Robertson is certainly a fiction-writer who has done acceptable work in this book and in his "Red Blood and Blue," and with a little better balance in construction may do even better things in the future.

In Oudemon: The Reminiscences of an Unknown People by an Occasional Traveler. Edited by Henry S. Drayton, M.D. The Grafton Press, New York. 5×7½ in. 378 pages. $1.50.

Lady of Nations (The). By Richard Hayes McCartney. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7 in. 114 pages.

Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus. By Archibald Thomas Robertson. The American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 462 pages. $1.50.

Dr. Broadus, born 1827, came of an old family that has furnished many recruits to the ranks of the Baptist ministry. His book on "The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons" has made him widely known in other churches also. From first to last he combined with uncommon power the functions of preacher and teacher. The last half of his life was identified with the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, which was founded just before the Civil War at Greenville, S. C., and removed in 1877 to Louisville, where Dr. Broadus died in its presidency, 1895, lamented, said a Jewish rabbi, as "the greatest and saintliest man" in that city. In this volume the story of his strenuous and beneficent life is told largely by himself in selections from his correspondence.

Like Another Helen. By George Horton. Illustrated. The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 5×7½ in. 379 pages.

While the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 may have already faded into the dim distance, the Cretan question is still with us, liable at any moment to take on a new form. It helps our understanding of this question to know more about society in the eastern Mediterranean, and the present volume, aside from its merits as a novel, is a distinct aid to such understanding.

Louis Agassiz. By Alice Bache Gould. (The Beacon Biographies.) Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 3¾×5¾ in. 154 pages. 75c.

The life of the great Swiss-American is here narrated with apt words. To the ordinary reader the first part of this latest biography of Agassiz may be the most interesting, because it describes the struggles of a young man, and, somehow, they seem always fuller of color than those of the older man. Agassiz's young manhood was full of color, of touch-and-go—his school days at Bienne and Lausanne and Zurich; his university days at Heidelberg and Munich; his visits to Paris, where he met Cuvier and Humboldt; his professorship at Neuchâtel. More absorbing, however, to students of science is the compact account of Agassiz's American life. That period began in 1846, when he gave his Lowell lectures in Boston; and his splendid achievements to the day of his death in 1873 give us abundant right to claim him now as an American, one of ourselves, not longer a Swiss. Again, as his latest biographer does not fail to point out, his gifts were left to us, not to Europe: in Cambridge stands his museum, and at many

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places are the summer schools which have succeeded to Penikese. We are glad to note that Agassiz's greatest service to science, in pointing out the vast influence of the Ice Age, is well emphasized, though limits of space evidently keep the author from adequate expression. She will have accomplished a good work, however, if she induces her readers to take up those standard biographies, Mrs. Agassiz's life of her distinguished husband, and Mr. Marcou's "Life and Letters of Louis Agassiz," or that smaller biography, more inclusive than the present volume—Mr. Holder's capital account in the "Leaders of Science" series. To students of religion, the most notable chapter in the book will be that describing Agassiz's views of evolution, and the opposition which they excited among learned men otherwise his admirers, Dr. Haeckel and the Jena school, for instance.

Love Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple (The). Edited by Edward Abbott Parry. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 349 pages. $1.25.

A reprint of a correspondence very interesting in itself and of great value as disclosing the habits, the thoughts, and the standards of a young Englishwoman of wit, intelligence, and character at the close of the seventeenth century. The collection is prefaced in this edition with an interesting biographical introduction, in which the romantic story of Dorothy Osborne's love for Sir William Temple is told again, with copious extracts from Macaulay, who found endless delight in this correspondence.

Love Letters of the King (The). By Richard Le Gallienne. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 281 pages. $1.50.

It is a pity that a man of evident talent should be content to put forth such a volume as this. Its author tantalizes us with the accuracy, delicacy, and sympathy of his nature-descriptions; we are led from them to hope that his men will be men, and his women, women. When he comes to describe human characters, there arises an inevitable disappointment in the reader's mind. Not only is Mr. Le Gallienne's character-drawing lacking in truth, but even the plot of his story is inane; only his manner remains, and this, apart from his exquisite nature-touches and a few clear-cut aphorisms, is artificial, stilted, self-conscious, effeminate, morbid.

Love Letters of Victor Hugo (The), 1820–1822. Translated by Elizabeth W. Latimer. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 5½×8½ in. 247 pages. $3.

The publication of these letters in the magazines has been followed with much interest. Hugo was not only a great poet and a great romance writer, but was the leader of the French romantic school of poetry and fiction. The personal romance of such a man, his expression of personal emotion in letter form, could not but be peculiarly rich in feeling and expression. The letters are not perhaps as philosophical or intellectual as some might expect; they are for the most part simple, honest outpourings of affection. Eloquent they are and impassioned; but they tell little of Hugo's personal, political, and literary life. The story of the two years covered by these letters was not without incident and stress of danger to the union, and there is a high level of fidelity, hope, and encouragement throughout. The letters end in October, 1822, just before the marriage of Adèle Foucher to Victor Hugo. Lapse of time may be pleaded against any accusation of bad taste in the publishing of such intimate outpourings of the heart, but one shrinks a little at finding the editor's comment on Hugo's constant entreaty to his loved one to burn the letters, "They are all the more valuable on that account." It is quite evident from the recent publication of the love letters of Mrs. Browning, Bismarck, and now Hugo, that if one has the misfortune to be famous the only security of privacy in one's intimate correspondence is to commit it to the flames. It is true, however, that what makes these letters different from other literature of their class is that, as the editor, M. Meurice, says, "The letters are solely about love; they speak of *nothing but love*; and that is why they are, and always will be, so pure and so unique an example of the ideal of love."

Masters of French Literature. By George McLean Harper. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. 316 pages. $1.25.

A series of six chapters presenting in a comprehensive way, by the study of individual writers, the course and character of French literature from the age of Louis XIV. to our own time; that is to say, beginning with Corneille and ending with Balzac. The volume has unusual charm; it is written out of a very full and intimate knowledge of the subject by a man who is keenly sympathetic with the French spirit as manifested in its literature, but who does not part company with his critical insight in dealing with that literature. The treatment is eminently wise, discriminating, and intelligent; it is in sympathy with the spirit of the French, it is thoroughly balanced in judgment, and it is pervaded by a nice critical perception of literary values. It would be difficult to name a better book as introduction to the general study of French literature than this volume of Dr. Harper's. It is pervaded by a sweet reasonableness, a delightful quality of persuasiveness; it is, indeed, a capital illustration of serious, well-balanced, and convincing international literary study.

Mexico City: An Idler's Notebook. By Olive Percival. Illustrated. Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago. 4¼×7 in. 208 pages. $1.25.

Mr. Hopkinson Smith's "White Umbrella in Mexico" comes to mind as one turns page after page of this little volume so pleasantly written and printed. It is fortunate that travelers to the City of Mexico have now two charming guide-books, all the more charming from the fact that they do not pretend to be guide-books. They are instead books of not a little real literary quality.

Municipal Year-Book of the United Kingdom for 1901. Edited by Robert Donald. Edward Lloyd, Salisbury Square, London. 5×7½ in. 542 pages.

Contains the latest statistics upon all kinds of municipal activities in England, including libraries, gas-works, tramways, garbage-plants,

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cemeteries, etc., etc. For the more important places the statistics are given in much detail. Those for Birmingham, for example, show that the total cost of the gas-plant has been but $12,000,000, or only $2 for each thousand cubic feet of gas now used. The interest on capital there—including sinking-fund payments—adds only about 8 cents per 1,000 to the price of gas. The price of gas in Birmingham now ranges from 50 to 62 cents per thousand cubic feet, according to consumption. The highest price charged in any English city having municipal works is 75 cents per thousand, and the lowest price is 34 cents. Both of the extreme figures are for small municipalities.

My Autobiography: A Fragment. By the Rt. Hon. Professor F. Max Müller, K.M. With Portrait. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×8¼ in. 327 pages. $2.

In 1898 and '99 Professor Max Müller published two delightful volumes, with the admirably descriptive title "Auld Lang Syne." These volumes were made up of reminiscences of the scholar's friends rather than of his own life; very little was said about his own achievements and career. The present volume, which is unfortunately a fragment and ends when Professor Max Müller was on the threshold of his most famous and fertile years, was written during the last two years; and, although the story was pushed on almost to the hour of Max Müller's death, it brings his readers only to the time when he was making his first friends in Oxford. The account of the boy's life in Dessau, his school and later his university life at Leipsic, and the period of study in Paris, is extremely interesting. It seems incredible that so quiet a life as that described at Dessau could have been lived anywhere within the present century; and one great element of interest in this book lies in the fact that it brings within the cover of a single volume such immense social, political, and material changes. The account of Professor Max Müller's life at school and at college is minutely told; a list of his studies is given, the books he read, and the professors he worked under; and the account of his early introduction to the study of Sanskrit and his deepening interest in it is perhaps as significant as anything in the volume, so far as the story of the writer is concerned. That part of the narrative, however, on which the readers will linger longest is the account of his childhood in old Dessau:

> My chief happiness was to be with my mother. . . . She was certainly most beautiful, and quite different from all other ladies at Dessau. . . . She had a most perfect voice, and when I first began music she helped and encouraged me in every possible way. . . . She read so much to us that I was quite satisfied, and saw perhaps less of my young friends than I ought. . . . My work at school and at home was not too heavy. I was fond of it, and very fond of books. . . . French was studied and spoken, particularly at Court, but English was a rare acquirement. Still more so, Italian or Spanish. There was, however, a small inner circle where these languages were studied, chiefly in order to read the master works of modern literature. . . . My grandfather, though he aged early, remained in harness as Prime Minister to the end of his life. . . . It was he who, at a time when people hardly knew what railroads meant, succeeded in getting the line from Berlin to Halle and Leipzig to pass by Dessau. . . . The general self-denial I had to exercise in my youth has made me feel a constant gratitude and sincere appreciation for the small comforts of my later years.

Passing of the Great Queen (The). By Marie Corelli. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 4¼×7 in. 89 pages. 50c.

It is said that Queen Victoria's favorite novelist was Miss Marie Corelli. At all events, the present volume, if evidently hastily written and hence disjointed, is a graceful and noble tribute from that romancer to the lamented monarch. Queen Victoria's long and magnificent reign was more than a splendid sovereign's rule; it was, as Miss Corelli points out, a matchless example, which will shine in history like a great light for all time.

Passion (The): Historical Essay. By R. P. M. J. Ollivier, O.P. Translated from the French by E. Leahy. Marlier & Co., Boston. 5½×8½ in. 439 pages. $1.50.

Brother Marie-Joseph Ollivier, one of the Friars-Preachers, has written this narrative of the suffering Christ with a glowing heart and a tender hand. Its devotional spirit commends it to all Christians, though all will not accept some details of Catholic tradition which the author incorporates with the story of the Evangelists.

Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection. By William Law, M.A. Edited by L. H. M. Soulsby. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 3¾×5½ in. 200 pages. $1.

There is no better wisdom than in the best of the old writers. Law (1686–1761) was one of these. His "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life" was second only to Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" in its religious influence. This booklet of selections from one of the nine volumes of his works is edited with due mindfulness that the kingdom of God is now seen to be wider than as Law saw it. The book's contents, as well as its omissions, commend it to modern readers for its author's view of "the greatness of religion and the littleness of everything but God."

Pro Patria. By Max Pemberton. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 292 pages. $1.50.

A somewhat sensational story of the discovery by an English officer of an attempt on the part of France to run a tunnel under the English Channel, and thus make the invasion of Great Britain possible. The villain is decidedly theatrical, and the lime-light effect is excessive throughout. Still, lovers of exciting fiction will find that this tale will occupy a leisure hour acceptably.

Riallaro: The Archipelago of Exiles. By Godfrey Sweven. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. 420 pages. $1.50.

The romance here related purports to be the tale of a mysterious mariner returned from an unknown archipelago in the Southern seas, where a new social order existed. The inhabitants of the central island, having some purpose to improve the human species by judicious selection, had eliminated the liars, the sensualists, and the combative by deportation, each to a separate isle. The three commonwealths thus formed maintained the same policy toward disturbing elements among themselves. Thus the other islands of Riallaro were given up each to a single type of eccentrics. The island

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of "Wotnekst," for instance, was inhabited by folks full of theories for creating the millennium by legislation. The mariner whose tale is related by those to whom he was induced to give it made the grand tour of Rialaro, seeing strange sights and meeting extraordinary experiences. His story is designed as a satire on various follies extant in civilized life. It is sometimes rather grotesque, but is quite in the Swiftian vein, and both ingenious and entertaining.

Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying (The). By Jeremy Taylor. (The Temple Classics.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 384 pages. 50c.

Spiritual Knowing; or, Bible Sunshine. By Theodore F. Seward. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 155 pages. $1.

Mr. Seward's cheerful view of existence is good practical philosophy, and has been morally and religiously helpful to many. It is not quite in his line to philosophize soundly upon matter, and reality, and such ultimate problems of thought. But while we cannot accept his hazardous assertions about the universe and individual souls, we do not regard these as vital to his main thought. The interpenetration of the finite by the infinite Being in whom it is grounded, and the life of man as ensphered in the Eternal and Sovereign Love, are truths adequate, when fully realized, for that simple and all-pervading sunshine of faith in which Mr. Seward would have his readers live.

Thirteen Colonies (The). By Helen Ainslee Smith. Illustrated. In Two Parts. (The Story of the Nations Series.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5¼×8 in. $3.

The distinctive feature of this work is the separate account given of the pre-Revolutionary history of each of the thirteen colonies.

Truth Dexter. By Sidney McCall. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×8½ in. 375 pages. $1.50.

This is really a historical novel, but the period described is as close to the present year as the second Cleveland administration. In his preface the author tells us that though the book was really written in 1897, the political discussions remain unchanged in later revision. The opinions set forth in those discussions, both as to the possibility of an Americo-Spanish conflict and as to the remoter possibility of Chinese complications, are strikingly prophetic. To us the best features of the novel lie in its description of plantation life and in the descriptions of the relations between North and South seven and eight years ago. Some of the characters are well outlined—Mr. and Mrs. Dexter, for instance; the same can hardly be said for the girl heroine, but in this respect "Truth Dexter" resembles many another novel. The author's style seems entirely spontaneous, though occasionally too verbose; often, however, it is both well condensed and rich with felicitous imagery—an imagery apparently never "lugged in" for fancied effect.

Way of Belinda (The). By Frances Weston Carruth. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 310 pages. $1.50.

Those who seek an up-to-date novel, dealing with society in the metropolis, as represented both in Rivington Street and Fifth Avenue, will do well to read this book. Of the two phases of life we prefer the author's description of slum existence; the other does not apparently ring so true. The plot is old-fashioned enough to hint broadly as to its certain outcome. The characters range from the heroine, whose "way" lies Rivington Streetwards, but whose home is with a grim old dowager who intends to marry her to a rich man. The rich man is such a precious fool that no girl would look at him twice. The hero is a newspaper reporter, and of course marries the girl.

When Blades are Out and Love's Afield. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 305 pages. $1.50.

A story of Nathaniel Greene and his campaign in the Carolinas. There is a strong suggestion in the division and arrangement and manner of the story that dramatization was in the author's mind. The plot is lively enough, and there is plenty of love-making as well as fighting.

Will the World Outgrow Christianity? By Rev. Robert Pollok Kerr, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 148 pages. $1.

The fourteen short papers in this volume are written in popular and persuasive style, with a vigorous conviction that everything is precisely as stated, that it is a "false science" which attributes a sub-human ancestry to man, and that "God has commanded people to obey them that have the rule over them in spiritual things."

Working Constitution of the United Kingdom (The). By Leonard Courtney. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8¼ in. 383 pages. $2.

By all odds the best single volume on the English Constitution, and the best work, regardless of length, on the governmental machinery through which the Constitution is given practical effect. The history of England's constitutional development has nowhere been stated more clearly, and the present political framework of English society has nowhere else been described as clearly as in this volume. Nor is the work merely descriptive; on the contrary, every portion of it is illumined by sound and penetrating criticism. The chapters describing the conduct of business in Parliament, the limitations upon the privileges of private members, the rules governing the application of cloture, the composition of the "Law Lords" who act as the Supreme Court of Appeal, the subordination of the judiciary to Parliament, and the subordination of Parliament itself to institutions like trial by jury which preceded it, are particularly valuable to American students of constitutional law and contemporary politics. As a reference-book for writers on these subjects the volume is invaluable.

World's Orators (The). Vol. IX. Orators of America, Part II. Vol. X. Orators of America, Part III. (University Edition.) Edited by Guy Carleton Lee, Ph.D., with the Collaboration of C. Alphonso Smith, Ph.D., and Horatio Collins King, LL.D. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 6×9 in. $3.50 per vol.

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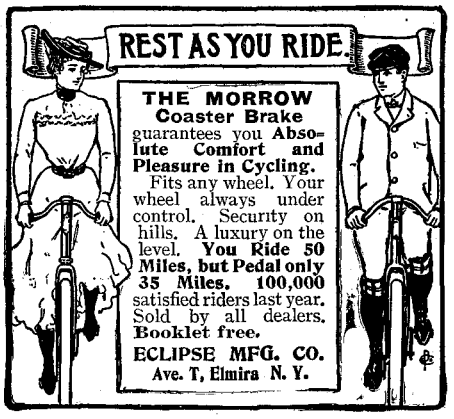
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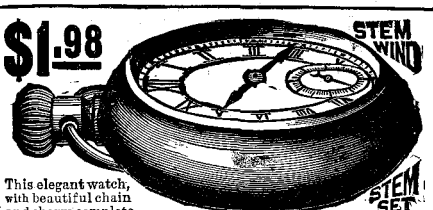

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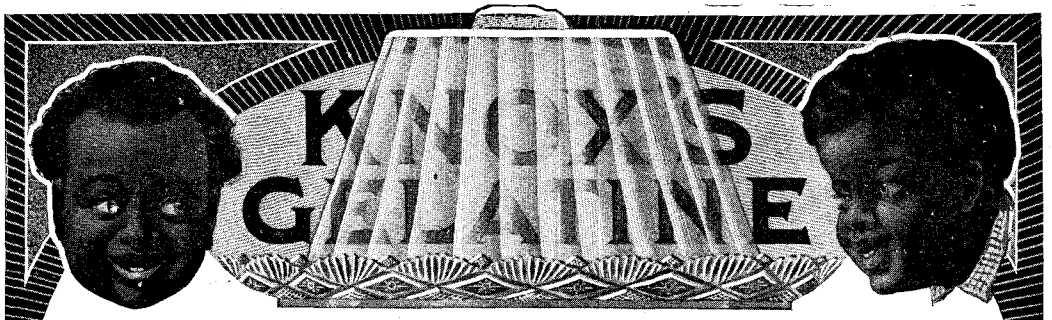

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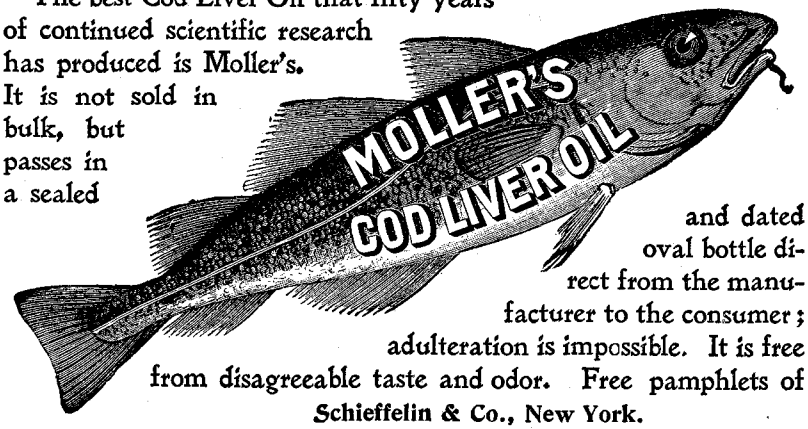

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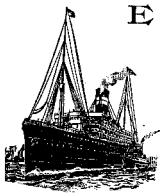

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